THE BRITISH JOURNAL
OF
DELINQUENCY

Vol. III January, 1953 No. 3

EDITORIAL

With the development of standardized tests of character traits and other quasi-objective methods of assessing personality endowment, the clinical approach to mental disorders is being subject to amplification. This advance is to be welcomed, but in so far as these tests are statistical, they may tend to blur the outlines of individual lives. With the emergence of electro-encephalography we are reaching a time when the functions of the brain itself as an implement of conduct are being brought under the authority of the machine. In this issue we are presented with a careful statistical-clinical study of young delinquents in which traits of character and behaviour are correlated with abnormal brain rhythms investigated by two well-known experts. If these discoveries are to be relied upon, then we are confronted by evidence of fundamental peculiarities in brain function which must have profound medico-legal consequences. Our justices are forever probing medical witnesses for objective evidence of instability outside the governance of the offender's will. The authors are careful to state that these abnormal findings do not finalize the problem of constitutional versus nurtural influences. This dichotomy is already being regarded as a false one, and in this regard the abnormal rhythms are no more important if due to constitutional factors than if they can be traced to nurtural causes. In fact rhythms vary with maturation and can undergo variations under successful psychotherapy. Be that as it may, it will be for the lawyer to decide with his casuistry whether or not the correlations our authors have indicated are to be accepted as evidence of limited responsibility for violent behaviour. Our readers are particularly directed to scrutinise the concept of ' ductility ' as qualifying or otherwise our present views on the nature and causes of abnormal conduct.

The relationship between mental defect and delinquency has engaged expert attention for a long time, and, as Dr. Weber points out in her article,

both Healy and Burt have maintained that deficiency is 'the largest single cause of delinquency'. That limited capacity to perceive, to judge, and to learn must reduce social capacity is obvious enough. But outside the class of ineducable defectives of low grade, capacity to learn is never absent entirely; and furthermore emotional handicaps play tricks both with learning and behaviour. Therapeutic nihilism therefore is to be deprecated; much salvage work can be carried out with the borderline defective and the dull and backward. We may perhaps have to modify our fanatical reliance on tests of intellectual functions alone, or at least extend tests to include capacity for social learning, for it is in the field of social learning that all potential delinquents show their deficiencies. Our clinical experience shows, as Dr. Weber's cases confirm, that emotional and intellectual functions are inseparable, and that in therapy, the patient can advance on all fronts towards social acquiescence and usefulness.

In his study of fifty officers of the Liverpool Police Force Mr. Mays, whose previous article on juvenile delinquency (July, 1952) has aroused much interest among our readers, makes a valuable contribution to another aspect of the crime problem. Everybody agrees that a strengthening of the local Police forces, at present considerably undermanned, would, perhaps more effectively than any other single measure, reduce the volume of crime in this country. Better accommodation and higher salaries are no doubt indispensable aids in the recruiting campaign, but they are not everything. Relations with members of the public, Mr. Mays writes, 'are among the most difficult problems in a policeman's life'. Ostracism and hostility on the part of certain sections of the community, already noted by another observer before the war, should not be overlooked as additional obstacles to successful recruiting. However, if this hostility should disappear, there might be less need for more police, and we may therefore be moving in a vicious circle.

Even if the fifty men interviewed by Mr. Mays should not be entirely representative of the general body of police officers, their attitudes, as revealed in this survey, are of considerable interest. Many will agree and many will disagree with the views expressed by some of them on such controversial subjects as juvenile court policy and procedure, the value of probation, of corporal punishment and the objects of punishment in general.

To the extent that these views are likely to have their origin in lack of contact with other services or lack of information regarding modern developments and ideas concerning the treatment of offenders or other social problems there may be a case for more intensive training courses in these subjects.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY: AN ELECTROPHYSIOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL STUDY

By R. SESSIONS HODGE, V. J. WALTER and W. GREY WALTER (BRISTOL)

Studies of the electroencephalograms (EEG) in delinquents and criminals have been reported from time to time since the first paper on the subject by Solomon, Jasper and Bradley (1937). Unfortunately a large proportion of these publications are of very limited value owing to the variations in the criteria of normality used by the various workers. This difficulty has been only too familiar to students of the EEG and indeed the establishment of accepted standards is still in progress. Until about 1945 the interpretation of records was nearly always far too ingenuous; quantitative methods of assessment were arbitrary and tedious and statistical analysis of results was usually limited to simple computation of percentages or mean values. In many applications of EEG these limitations were of minor importance; in the location of gross organic lesions of the cerebral hemispheres, for example, and in the study of epileptic seizures, the electrical changes are so striking and the clinical data so explicit that even the crudest qualitative appraisal may be adequate.

In studying a population characterized and identified only by some ambiguous feature such as 'delinquency' a different approach is necessary. The difference is not merely one of degree, for the problem is of an entirely different character from that of establishing the relations, say, between attacks of *petit mal* and a wave-and-spike pattern [1] in the EEG.

In a juvenile delinquent population, both the juvenility and the delinquency raise considerable difficulties in planning and interpreting observations. Both characters are statistical and to some extent arbitrary—the chronological age of 'Young Persons' is not necessarily related to their maturity by any other standard and certainly not to the criteria used in estimating the norm of EEG features. Delinquency is not only a matter of committing a particular offence or offences but also of being apprehended and convicted. Unfortunately the standards of age, responsibility and crime vary greatly in different countries and from time to time as law and custom change, so that observations made in America fifteen years ago are hard to relate to studies undertaken here and now.

During the last ten years considerable advances have been made in quantifying and objectifying psychological, social and electrophysiological

[1] For technical terms see Glossary on p. 170.

data ; in consequence information in these categories can be treated statistically with greater assurance. In general, the attack on such problems is conveniently made in three stages ; a pilot reconnaissance to discover what features are most likely to be of interest, a detailed survey of statistical association, and an experimental study to determine the dynamic or causal relations between variables found to be statistically associated.

Some years ago a pilot survey was made of 100 delinquent boys at the Kingswood Training School, Bristol. For this, the simplest possible EEG equipment was used—a portable 2-channel instrument—and the 100 subjects were examined in two days. This deliberate abbreviation and simplification of EEG procedure was adopted in order to see whether a rapid cursory test gave any information of value to those responsible for the boys' destiny and whether any unusual findings could be correlated with the opinions of the Headmaster and consultant psychiatrist. The results need not be described in detail but, briefly, it was found that if the EEG records were classified crudely as Normal, Doubtful or Abnormal by adult criteria, a statistically significant association existed between these categories and the impressions of the boys obtained by the Headmaster and the Psychiatrist—this association was such that boys with ' Abnormal ' records were most likely to seem unsatisfactory by school and psychiatric standards. The examinations were too superficial to warrant publication of these results, and the agreement between the two assessments meant merely that EEG studies were likely to confirm opinions obtained by more simple and less obtrusive means.

The present survey was planned to fill in the gaps of the previous study and to discover whether any details of the EEG records seemed more particularly associated with psychological or social factors in a juvenile delinquent population.

SUBJECT MATERIAL

With the active co-operation and assistance of Dr. R. F. Barbour, the Principal (R. H. Adams, M.A., B.Sc.), the Warden (L. F. Mills, B.Sc., B.Ed.), and the staff of the Kingswood Classifying School, it was possible to examine 100 successive admissions to this establishment. All those boys reaching the School from December 1949 to May 1950 were taken to the Burden Neurological Institute where the electroencephalograms were recorded. The boys were all recently convicted of a variety of offences under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, and under that Act were admitted to the Classifying School for observation with a view to their transfer to the Training School best suited to their particular needs. Their ages varied from 10 to 17 years with the mean at 14·3, Standard Deviation 2·6.

METHOD

Electroencephalograms were recorded with a 6-channel equipment fitted with a Mark V automatic wave analyser which included an averager and visual display unit. Each examination lasted for about 20 minutes and included several tests of the effect of opening and closing the eyes, mental activity, voluntary overbreathing and photic stimulation. The subjects were told only as much about the procedure as was necessary to secure their co-operation. No personal questions were asked them and their identity was recorded merely in terms of name, age and number. In this way and to this extent the EEG studies were done ' blind '. The data obtained from the primary records and automatic analyses were transferred to a punched card on which 74 EEG features can be recorded in 4 degrees of intensity. These features include the frequency, location and responsiveness of all rhythmic components from 1·5 to 30 c/s, the characters of any transient, intermittent or paroxysmal phenomena, and the effects on these features of mental activity, overbreathing and photic stimulation, together with any special effects evoked by these three stress factors. It was decided not to add to the other tests investigation of the effects of emotional stimuli ; such stimuli can provide valuable information, particularly in young people, but, by definition, they are likely to have considerable long-term effects which would be undesirable in a delinquent population. Even in the deliberately impersonal and unexciting conditions of these tests, quite considerable reactions were aroused ; the first few batches of boys described their experiences to the others in the school in exaggerated terms, so that later batches arrived in a state of anxiety, which had a noticeable effect on the earlier part of some records. This was allowed for in classifying the records.

The EEG information on the record card was used to assign to each subject a rating on a fourpoint scale of ' normality-abnormality ' ; abnormality is not perhaps the most apt term but is literally correct since the criteria detailed in ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAPHY (1950) were weighted for age and the relation to them was used as the measure of ' abnormality ' ; these criteria were derived from study of a control juvenile population consisting of several hundred normal law-abiding children aged three months to eighteen years. The term abnormal is used in the statistical rather than the pathological sense. In the first grade abnormal category were features such as extreme unresponsiveness or asymmetry of alpha rhythms, activity in the delta, theta or 14–30 c/s bands equivalent to a 10 microvolt continuous signal, brief paroxysms of slow waves greater than 100 microvolts during photic stimulation. The second grade abnormal records consisted of the same features in greater degree, together with focal

transients or paroxysmal disturbances with uniform or repetitive frequency spectra and/or waveforms either during rest or evoked by overbreathing or flicker. The third-degree abnormal category contained those records displaying patterns recognized as statistically or experimentally associated with signs, symptoms or complaints of some neurological ailment. The term 'diagnostic' might be applied to the last category, but it would seem more satisfactory in general to reserve this adjective for features which are *always* and *only* associated with a particular syndrome or disease; in the EEG, unfortunately, no such relationship can be claimed and therefore the term 'diagnostic EEG' is to be deprecated. For the other abnormal categories some observers might use the term 'dysrhythmia'. Here again, convenience is the foe of accuracy, and a quantitative or detailed description of the EEG features is much to be preferred to a portmanteau expression in which anyone may discern whatever he expects.

The psycho-social appraisal was based on an estimate of 19 characters each on a three-point scale. This inventory was subdivided into four groups:

(*a*) *Personal factors* (age, I.Q., neuroticism from Rorschach, emotional stability and sexual development).

(*b*) *Family relationships* (Attitude to father or father figure, to mother or mother figure, to sibs. Father's attitude to boy, mother's attitude. Parental relations, degree of unsettlement in early life).

(*c*) *School relationship* (Reaction to authority, to work, to fellows, to leisure, to self).

(*d*) *Nature of offences* (frequency and length of delinquency, degree of violence used).

The personal factors were assessed by the psychiatrist and psychologists in the usual manner, by test and interview and by reference to the documentary history. Since most of the boys stayed in the Classifying School for only a few weeks, the family and school assessments were partly retrospective; they included the impressions of the masters as well as of the psychological and medical staff. All the psycho-social estimates were made without knowledge of the EEG findings, except in those cases where the EEG records yielded clear evidence of some neurological ailment. In these cases a brief EEG report was submitted to the neuro-psychiatrist so that suitable action could be taken.

The factors enumerated under (*a*) and (*b*) were assessed in the usual manner. The trustworthiness of the assessment was not at the time considered to be very high but statistical analysis of the relationships within this group and with other factors suggested that it was of the same order as any similar appraisal. The same comments apply to the other assessments. As will be seen later, the factors under (*c*) presented considerable difficulty;

necessarily the impressions were subjective and relative and since they were based on the relations between those in authority and the subjects the judgment may well have been biassed in favour of those who accepted discipline with a good grace.

In order to obtain a consolidated assessment for each boy on the psycho-social side, a five-point scale was used; good, fairly good, average, rather bad, bad. For each boy the total marks in the good, average and bad columns for the 19 factors was obtained; if there were 10 or more 'good' marks, he was rated 'good'; 10 or more average marks, 'average'; 10 or more bad marks, 'bad'. If the combined total of good and average marks was more than the total of average and bad, 'fairly good', if less, 'rather bad'. Lumping of good and fairly good on the one hand, and bad and rather bad on the other gave a three-point scale to compare with the EEG assessments.

When the EEG analysis and classification had been completed, and the results converted to punch-marks on the perforated cards, the psycho-social data were also transferred to the cards; in this way it was possible to compute the coefficient of contingency for any combination of the observed factors. The number of possible contingency tables is of course very large; even if the EEG features were grouped and amplitudes neglected, there would be over 300. Fortunately, many of these could be disposed of by a glance at the card outlines. In fact, only 200 tables were set up, and from these were computed the values of square contingency (χ^2) and the probability of the association being accidental (P). In describing the results of these calculations values of P less than 10^{-2} are described as significant; that is the association between the two factors is deemed likely to be worth discussing when the odds against it happening by accident are greater than 99 to 1. In describing the results of χ^2 analysis the probability of the relation being accidental is given as less than the nearest power of ten.

After the main results had been collected, an additional psychological estimate was made of the 'emotional maturity' of 42 of the boys by means of the Düss test[1] (1940). This was compared with estimates of maturity by inspection of the EEGs. The contingency of this association was also assessed by the χ^2 statistic. Owing to preoccupation with other matters, the contingency calculations were not completed until two years after the start of the observation.

[1] The Düss test is a story completion test which has been used by one of the authors (R.S.H.) for several years. It is designed to elucidate the unconscious attitudes of the subject to parents, siblings, and the individual family components; specific fears; guilt as to sexual feelings; and general reaction to authority. Experience tends to show that there is a tolerably high degree of validity in this test.

RESULTS

From earlier work it was expected that there would be a significant positive association between EEG normality and approbation by school and psychological standards. It was also expected that a record of violence or neuroticism would be associated with certain types of abnormalities, particularly with the presence of theta rhythms. Neither of these expectations was fulfilled.

Of the 100 EEG records only 16 were found in the 'normal' category; 40 were Grade 1 abnormal; 39, Grade 2 abnormal, and 5 were Grade 3 abnormal ('diagnostic').

Those in the last category can be disposed of most easily. In four of the cases the abnormalities were striking, paroxysmal wave-and-spike patterns evoked by photic stimulation and very suggestive of a tendency to epileptic seizures. There were no psycho-social factors common to these cases, but subsequent enquiry revealed that in three there had been some sort of seizure in infancy or early life. The other two had no early clinical history or complaint. None of the subjects in this group was in any way remarkable on the psycho-social assessment; in fact they were all classed as good or average in this respect. In one case there were spontaneous wave-and-spike discharges, and this case had a history of convulsions during teething.

The discovery of 'epileptic' EEG patterns in these subjects does not necessarily imply that they will inevitably be subject to spontaneous seizures of a serious nature, but it does mean that in certain conditions their central nervous systems are likely to respond to stress in an inadequate, irrelevant or dangerous manner. This will be discussed later.

In the Grade 1 abnormal group, there were four in whom the main feature was a rhythm at 8 to 11 c/s in the frontal regions, independent of the alpha rhythms and unresponsive to visual and mental stimulation. Activity of this type has been described by Maddocks, Sessions Hodge and Rex (1951) and called by them 'alphoid'. This term is perhaps rather misleading since the only resemblance to the alpha rhythms in these cases is the frequency range, but the designation will be used here for convenience. In all the Grade 1 alphoid cases there was also some delta and theta activity. In the Grade 2 Abnormal group there were 9 alphoid records, making 13 per cent. in the whole population. Of the 13 alphoid subjects, 4 were regarded as 'bad' and 9 as 'average' on the whole psycho-social assessment. The numbers are too small to provide significant contingency calculations, but the features which seemed most closely linked with the presence of an alphoid record were an unsatisfactory attitude to self (8) and poor

emotional stability (8). Three alphoid cases were average in both these respects. The association of the variables was not, however, significantly different from that in the non-alphoid group, and it must be concluded that if alphoid rhythms are associated with any psycho-social factor it is not quite one of those included in the inventory used for this survey.

In all the 79 Grade 1 and 2 abnormal records, there were theta rhythms of varying degrees and in 68 of them delta rhythms. The presence of theta rhythms was expected but the proportion of cases exhibiting them was higher than anticipated : on the other hand no significant association could be traced between this feature and any of the psycho-social assessments. There was a highly significant association between theta and delta rhythms ($P<10^{-7}$), but whereas the theta rhythms showed no linkage, the presence of delta rhythms was found to be associated significantly with three psycho-social factors : Attitude to Mother ($P<10^{-3}$), Reaction to Fellows ($P<10^{-3}$), Reaction to Leisure ($P<10^{-3}$). When these three assessments were combined, the association with delta rhythms became even more significant ($P<10^{-4}$). As between these psycho-social factors there was a highly significant association between Reaction to Fellows and Reaction to Leisure, but there was none between these two and Attitude to Mother.

The association of delta rhythms and these psycho-social factors was of course entirely unexpected, particularly in view of the nature of the linkage : the presence of delta rhythms was contingent on a relatively *good* assessment of the boy's status in one or all of these categories. Thus, of the 68 boys who showed some degree of delta activity 49 were judged good or average in their attitude to mother, fellows and leisure, while of the 32 with no appreciable delta activity, 23 were considered bad in this respect. The probable or possible implications of these findings will be discussed later.

Of the two hundred contingency tables relating EEG to psycho-social factors these were the only ones to yield significant figures. Particularly disappointing were the results of more general associations ; there was no linkage between normality-abnormality and the consolidated psycho-social assessment. Neither was the attempt to re-synthesize the psycho-social personality by the consolidated assessment found of any assistance in searching for detailed EEG relations ; there was no significant association between the general assessment and any particular EEG feature.

Within the psycho-social inventory, the distribution of I.Q. as measured by the Terman-Merrill test was skew : 11 per cent. were above 116, 60 per cent. were between 85 and 115, and 29 per cent. were below 84. This distribution is similar to that described by others in a similar population. The number is too small for conclusive analysis of the distribution curve but there is a possibility that it is bimodal, with an unusually large proportion

of observations in the range 80–84. There were significant linkages between neuroticism as indicated by the Rorschach test and emotional instability ($P<10^{-6}$), and between bad parental relations and degree of unsettlement in early life ($P<10^{-3}$). Of the whole population, 38 were considered to have been badly unsettled, and of these 27 had parents whose relations were below average; whereas of the 62 with normally settled backgrounds only 11 had parents who did not get on well together. Study of the family relationships revealed some interesting features. There was a very highly significant association between the attitude of the boys to their fathers and the attitude of the fathers to their sons ($P<10^{-10}$). Both affection and dislike tended very much to be mutual. This was not so of maternal relations however; mothers and sons tended to have feelings for one another that did not depend upon reciprocity. This is plausible and confirms the sentimental impressions of daily life.

Within the EEG group of factors there were several significant contingencies but these were no different from those observed in a normal population, except of course for the high proportion of delta and theta rhythms and the association between them. The distribution of alpha frequencies and responsiveness was normal. There was a barely significant negative association between the effects of overbreathing and those of photic stimulation.

After the main survey had been completed, a subsidiary study was made of the relations between EEG evidence of ' immaturity ' and the assessment of maturity on the results of the Düss test. These estimates were made independently by two assessors. Only 42 boys out of the original 100 were available at this time, so the significance of the findings is rather less than when the larger number was studied. However χ^2 analysis showed a highly significant positive relation ($P<10^{-4}$) between the results of the two tests; all 19 of those judged immature psychologically were also immature by EEG standards, though 10 of the 23 considered psychologically mature were assessed as immature on their EEGs. The meaning of the term ' immature ' in this context will be discussed later. Neither the psychological nor the EEG estimate of immaturity was related to the presence of the delta activity which was found associated with the social factors already described.

DISCUSSION

The most surprising outcome of these observations is the large proportion of ' abnormal ' EEG records. In making this classification, due weight was given to age so that the proportion of abnormality (84 per cent.) cannot be explained by the youth of the population. Using similar criteria less

than 5 per cent. of records from a non-delinquent juvenile population were classed as abnormal. As already mentioned, the term 'abnormal' is non-specific in this context and is likely to be misleading. The abnormal group of records was heterogeneous and only five were in any sense indicative of a clinical ailment. Of the 79 remaining all showed theta activity and 68 displayed small, poorly localized slow activity of the delta type. The frequency of this varied from 2·5 to 3·5 c/s and was unaffected by the mild stimulatory procedures used. Its amplitude was small—indeed it could easily be overlooked in the primary records—and in most cases was equivalent only to 10 to 20 microvolt continuous signal. Without automatic frequency-analysis, detection and measurement of such a component would be extremely difficult. In 49 of the 68 subjects showing this feature, no local differences could be detected but in 18 the slow activity was most prominent in the temporo-occipital regions, rather more on the right side than on the left. The more localized disturbances tended to be lower in frequency than the diffuse ones. No significant relation could be established between the localization or otherwise of the delta rhythms and any other factor studied.

The presence of these delta rhythms, combined with other features, theta rhythms, alpha rhythms and so forth, gives the records an appearance which has sometimes been called 'dysrhythmic'. The term was first used by Gibbs, Gibbs and Lennox (1937) in connection with EEG studies specifically to describe records found during epileptic seizures. The word has attracted several investigators and was seized upon by bewildered and optimistic practitioners to include all records which seem to contain components other than the familiar alpha rhythms. By a commonplace but regrettable fault of logic, this solecism generated a serious fallacy; epilepsy is dysrhythmia, dysrhythmia is any unusual EEG appearance, many conditions are associated with unusual EEGs, therefore many conditions are really epilepsy. For this reason it came to be asserted—though never, fortunately, widely accepted—that schizophrenia, psychopathic states, and behaviour disorders were something to do with epilepsy. There may be a grain of truth in this notion, but certainly not for the reason quoted, and not as an ætiological analysis. In the records from this population there was nothing to suggest that the peculiar appearances seen in the primary records were suggestive of any particular clinical condition, while automatic analysis revealed that in fact the 'abnormality' consisted of quite clearly identifiable delta and theta components.

The presence of delta activity is well known to be associated in general with four states other than epilepsy; infancy, deep sleep, organic brain disease and deep anæsthesia. Obviously none of these conditions obtained

during this survey and if the observation is not to remain inexplicable and adventitious both conjecture and further experiment are necessary.

Some illumination may be gained by consideration of the conditions, other than local disease states, in which slow rhythmic electrical activity appears in the brain. For a few weeks before and some months after birth, the infant brain shows little except these slow rhythms. Up to the age of five or six the EEG of a normal child may be expected to contain some proportion of delta activity, these slow swells and surges gradually giving place to the more responsive waves and ripples which reflect with some fidelity the influence of environmental change. In general, rhythmic electrical changes in the brain are associated with suspension or attenuation of physiological function and the lower the frequency of the rhythm the more profound the reduction in functional performance. This effect may be seen experimentally in a subject who is falling asleep—as the delta components appear, so arousal becomes more difficult. In patients with organic disease also, the slow activity may be seen far from the site of the lesion—a considerable embarrassment when these effects are sought as a basis for the location of intracranial lesions. Clinical studies have shown that rhythmic, diffuse slow rhythms are commonly encountered in patients with organic disturbances in the basal structures of the brain, in the middle or posterior fossa and in the brain stem. It is in this region that are found the complex and mysterious structures which seem to project to most cortical areas and which have been studied so carefully by Moruzzi and Magoun (1949) among others. The functions of this diffuse system are still the subject of experiment but there is considerable evidence that it participates in the transmission of afferent signals to the cortex in an excitatory fashion; disturbance of this network favours the appearance of slow electrical activity and diminishes the effect of afferent signals upon the cortex. Even in epilepsy, the slower components of the EEG appear to suppress or deflect the excitatory influence of the synchronous rapid discharges; when cortical 'spikes' are found, or are evoked by stimulation, without slow activity, jactitatory movements or generalized convulsions usually accompany them, but when the spikes are superimposed on slow waves, as in the familiar wave-and-spike pattern of *petit mal*, the peripheral effects are absent or minimal; consciousness is clouded or lost altogether but the feeble discharge to the spinal cord and musculature is entirely out of proportion to the huge spikes which still involve large areas of cerebral cortex. Study of the geometry and distribution of the remote or diffuse slow rhythms shows that they involve more than the cortical grey matter—their provenance is as deep-seated as their function is widespread.

From such consideration was fashioned the 'phylactic' hypothesis of

delta rhythm function. It was suggested that these components provide in the brain safeguards analogous to those which we recognize as pain in nearly all other regions of the body. With this hypothesis as a guide, an attempt was made to identify the common factor in the psycho-social appraisals which were associated so significantly and so unexpectedly with the presence of small slow electrical rhythms in the brain. The results having been finally committed to punched cards and statistical tables, it was permissible for the various participants to discuss their observations and assessments knowing that no personal prejudice or expectation could influence the numerical contingencies. The methods of assessing the attitudes of the boys to maternal influence, to leisure and to their fellows were analysed and the criteria of assessment enumerated. After considerable discussion it was found that a common factor appeared to emerge. For this factor the following terms and phrases were used in the course of the argument : likely to be helped, submissive, dependent, docile, easily influenced, childlike, babyish, nice, easy to get on with, sociable, companionable, affectionate, weak, easily led, malleable. This thesauric collection represents as it were, a set of intersecting semantic bearings from which the position of the correct description should be deducible. It would be unfortunate if a term were to be chosen which already has too precise a meaning in relation to character or personality ; at the present stage the use of a specific term is convenient but would be misleading if too great a confidence in its aptness were implied. For this reason it is suggested that the most appropriate word to indicate this factor common to the three character inclinations concerned is 'ductility ', implying rather a tendency to be easily drawn out than easily beaten into shape. In so far as the development of character includes the power to learn and depends upon the mode of learning, the etymological association with education may not be irrelevant.

In this analysis, it should be repeated, a high ductility seemed to be closely associated with the presence of slow brain rhythms. This immediately suggests that included in this group of subjects were a number of 'immature' individuals, since slow electrical activity and perhaps the factor called ductility are both characteristic of childhood, even of infancy. The correspondence between psychological and electro-encephalographic immaturity in 42 of the 100 boys (a study completed over a year before the significant abundance of slow activity and its relation to ductility were suspected) seems to support this inference, but neither slow activity nor ductility were directly associated with the estimate of immaturity in this independent partial survey.

Furthermore, the most likely indication of immaturity in its usual sense in the EEG of children in this age group is the presence of theta rhythms. The great majority of the subjects did indeed exhibit this feature, but it was

not found associated with any particular psycho-social factor, whereas the slower rhythms were. Explanation of these findings as evidence of simple immaturity is not therefore satisfactory and some less facile interpretation must be sought.

In the population examined for this survey, there was a history of unsettlement and parental discord in 27 per cent., in 11 per cent. there was unsettlement without parental discord and in 11 per cent. there was some degree of parental strife without unsettlement. In 49 per cent. of the boys therefore, some unusual environmental stress may be presumed. Compared with this figure there were 67 per cent. with peculiar features in the EEG; features which were significantly associated not with a history of environmental stress but with a relatively promising attitude to the more pleasant aspects of the social environment; mother, leisure and companions. In casting about for any possible causal relations between the physiological and social assessments, the phase of the delinquent process may turn out to be important. The EEG studies of this population were made very soon after admission to the Classifying School and it is conceivable that the low-frequency activity was an outward sign of some sort of acute, protective infantile regression, a withdrawal from the bitter reality of arrest, being found guilty, and committal. Attractive though such an explanation may seem, there is at present little evidence in support of it; children with marked behaviour disorders verging toward delinquency who have not been deprived of home and family comfort also show unusual features in the EEG and in the delinquent population the presence of slow components was not contingent on the length of period of the delinquency. It should be recalled that very few boys in this population were first offenders; the majority had previous experience of remand or probation.

Statistical studies cannot be expected to yield information as to the causal relations between several variables but experimental studies of similar material should be more fruitful. Before offering any detailed explanation of these findings it will be necessary to decide whether the significant EEG features are durable or evanescent and whether they are likely to be the outcome of nurture or of nature. The ideal experiment would be to take experimental records—that is EEGs and other physiological measurements under conditions of varied degrees and types of repose, stress and stimulation —from a large population of very young children, both from normal homes and from institutions, and to follow these subjects over a period of many years in an unobtrusive fashion, observing their fluctuating inclinations and destinies and the social network of which they form components. This scheme is far too ambitious for present resources, and the more modest plan is envisaged. This would exploit the virtues of prediction as a test for hypo-

theses ; an unselected group of delinquents admitted for twelve months or so to a Training School could be examined several times at intervals of a few months without difficulty during their stay at the School, and if the numbers are relatively small—say 20—the fine structure and topographic details of the electrical brain activity can be studied dynamically with equipment of a new type which has just been brought into operation (Walter and Shipton, 1951). From these observations, predictions can be made of the likely progress of each subject and at the end of the observation period the degree of coincidence between the expected and observed course would provide a suitable check on the hypothesis of association. There would be no difficulty in keeping electro-physiological assessments and predictions secret from the school authorities, and the school conditions unknown to the experimental observers, until the time appointed for the comparison. An encouraging sign is that in all cases where predictions have been made in this way so far, events have corroborated the forecast. Furthermore, there are numerous physiological theories and techniques, too intricate to be detailed here, whereby the weight and scope of data may be very greatly extended.

The future envisaged for such investigation goes further than the limited study of juvenile delinquency as an isolated phenomenon ; there seems a possibility that the meticulous application of these methods may lead to the development of a physiological sociology, in which both the consistencies and the vagaries of human society may turn out to be definable, if not wholly explicable, in terms of the properties of the central nervous system.

One hindrance to physiological sociology is that, in the case of the EEG, considerable emphasis has been laid upon the hereditary or genetic determination of electrical patterns. This bias in favour of nature as opposed to nurture may be justified by further experiment, but the evidence at present available is inadequate to support an uncompromising assertion, simply because so few experiments have yet been made to discover the extent to which EEG features are susceptible to changes in the surroundings. Several nervous diseases which are known to be, at least, familial, are associated with characteristic EEG abnormalities, and there is evidence that the proportion of various anomalies and peculiarities is higher among relatives of epileptics and insane persons, than in the rest of the population. On the other hand there are examples of striking changes produced in the EEG by psycho-therapy and by less deliberate readjustment of external conditions—quite apart from the involved and highly variable development of mature features in young people. It would indeed be astonishing if the electrical activity of the organ of adaptation were quite unresponsive to external influences, but such relations are peculiarly hard to study and, except for short term effects, they have not been studied. For this reason the im-

pression obtained from electro-encephalography is of a rather rigid determinism or fatalism; this happens to be completely at variance with the most popular attitudes to delinquency, which emphasize rather the importance of environmental factors such as home conditions and moral education.

It must be realized therefore that should EEG studies reveal an association between delinquency as a social phenomenon and some definable electrical 'abnormality', such a report might be unpopular. It would seem hard to reconcile with current social sentiment and official policy, in both of which it is assumed that apart from a small 'hard core' of unreclaimable depravity, the majority of intellectually normal delinquents are the victims of circumstance and can be restored to conformity by circumstantial adjustment.

The common tendency to categorize human attributes as 'inherited' or 'acquired' is excusable but entirely unreasonable. Even in less emotionally charged problems, such as the assessment of machine performance, it is often convenient to classify behaviour in terms of features inherent in design and those attributable to use. In simple machinery such a division may be permissible, but wherever there is a possibility of design and use being interdependent, such categorization is a confession of ignorance, or at least of the inadequacy of analytical methods. Problems concerning dynamic systems containing several interdependent variables linked by simultaneous differential equations cannot be solved by rule of thumb or by intuition. The presence of such a system can be inferred when, in any controversy concerning the relative importance of 'design' and 'use' the assertions of both sides seem to be true and their denials false. That is the state at present in discussions about nature and nurture in human affairs, and for this reason we may suppose that while an exclusive approach may be fertile for the sake of argument, it is liable to be confusing for the sake of accuracy.

The separation and identification of permanent and of alterable components in behaviour is perhaps the main problem in human ecology and its approach by physiological investigation is only now becoming feasible. The study of delinquency as a specific problem is by no means an inappropriate starting point, for the delinquent population is at least more completely specified in its behavioural tendencies than the larger section of the populace which has not come into open conflict with custom or authority. It is, however, of obvious importance that control groups of similar age should be studied and that the physiological findings should be related to those features of the control populations that tend toward delinquency without resulting in arrest or conviction.

The study of the psychology and physiology of maturation in the human raises some of the most intractable, most controversial and most important

problems in human affairs. As Piaget (1932, 1952) has demonstrated, child morality throws light on adult morality ; the way in which children develop their fantasies, their notions of causality, their acceptance of rules, and their abstraction of principles influence the ideals, the structure and the stability of adult society. The periods and stages of development in normal children as described by Piaget seem to coincide remarkably closely with the various climacterics recognized in the electro-physiology of the brain, and the wide personal variations in social behaviour between children of the same age also seem to be associated with measurable physiological factors. The effects of early deprivation and disappointment, so dramatic in some children, as Bowlby (1951) has shown, seem both to depend upon the characters of brain physiology and to exert an influence—whether transient or permanent cannot yet be decided—upon those same characters. The concept of ductility and its objective representation in brain physiology may not only suggest suitable research surveys, but also help to unite in a common cause the disciplines of education, psychology and physiology. Only too often, those in charge of delinquents express the feeling that if only they had got hold of certain ' hard cases ' sooner, much more could have been done for them. In some of these young people the superficial apathy or cynicism may be only a case-hardening, a brittle crust beneath which is a more ductile and responsive personality. These impressions may be illusory and indeed the estimates based on ductility may turn out to be over-optimistic or even completely mistaken. Only continued observation and experiment can decide the permanence and importance of these factors. Almost certainly there are variations in ductility from time to time as well as from person to person ; changes in the EEG are indeed the most characteristic feature of young childrens' records. It would not seem too much to hope that objective assessment of these factors may help to determine when and how assistance can best be given to those who are most in need of it and are likely to yield to society some return for the considerable investment required by present regulations.

SUMMARY

(1) One hundred successive admissions to a Classifying School for delinquent boys were studied by means of electro-encephalography and an inventory of psychological and social factors.

(2) The results of these two assessments were analysed and treated statistically by setting up 200 square contingency tables.

(3) The electro-encephalograms were outside the normal range of variation in 84 per cent. ; five per cent. were suggestive of an epileptic

tendency, 39 per cent. were definitely abnormal and 40 per cent. were less strikingly abnormal.

(4) Frontal rhythms at 8 to 11 c/s were found in 13 per cent.

(5) Theta rhythms were found in all the 79 subjects with abnormal records.

(6) Delta rhythms of low amplitude were found in the records of 68 subjects.

(7) The only electro-encephalographic feature which was significantly associated with the psycho-social assessments was the presence of delta rhythms which showed a highly significant linkage with : a relatively good Attitude to Mother or Mother Figure, a good Reaction to Fellows and a good Reaction to Leisure.

(8) The relations between these findings and other conditions characterized by slow brain rhythms are discussed.

(9) The various psycho-social attributes associated with delta rhythms may contain a common factor, for which the term ' ductility ' is suggested.

(10) Some implications of these observations are outlined and the extension of the method to a study of social neurophysiology is suggested.

GLOSSARY

(1) *Wave-and-Spike Pattern.* A complex consisting of a wave of low frequency associated with a spike of short duration, the wave preceding the spike.

(2) *2-channel Instrument.* A channel consists of a complete amplifier and recording device, with electrodes to which it is connected.

(3) *Automatic Wave Analyser.* An electronic device which extracts from the complex waveform emanating from a single EEG channel the proportion of a selection of frequency components which make up that waveform and writes out these proportions in the form of a frequency histogram (4) on the EEG record, a complete histogram being given every 10 secs. The frequency coverage is 1·5 to 30 c/s. Detailed technical information on this device may be found in *Electronic Engineering,* Vol. XVIII, Nov. 1946.

(4) *Histogram.* A graph in which the ordinate quantities are plotted discontinuously as a series of lines or points along the abscissa instead of continuously to form a smooth curve.

(5) *Averager.* A further electronic device used in association with the Wave Analyser giving frequency histograms covering longer periods than the normal 10 seconds, in this case 50 to 100 secs. being available at will.

(6) *Visual Display Unit.* This device gives an approximate but immediate frequency analysis of the output of one EEG channel in the

form of varying lengths of glow in a series of neon tubes, each tube being assigned a frequency from the normal automatic analysis series.

(7) *Photic Stimulation.* Stimulation of the cortex by means of the visual pathways. The most usual method is by means of a gas-filled flash-tube, which can be made to give flashes of very high intensity and short duration at a regular rate, this rate being controllable over a considerable range.

(8) *Electrode.* Specifically, a means of making contact with tissue non-polarizable. A metal in contact with one of its salts which is insoluble in the electrolyte, *e.g.*, Ag-AgCl-NaCl in water. The passage of current from such an electrode to the tissue or vice versa does not produce an opposing EMF.

(9) *c/s.* Frequency of oscillation stated as the number of complete cycles per second.

(10) *Alpha Rhythm.* A rhythm of about 10 c/s (8–13 c/s) associated with physiological inactivity of the parieto-occipital areas and usually attenuated by physiological stimuli.

(11) *Delta Rhythm.* A pathological slow rhythm of 3 c/s or less.

(12) *Theta Rhythm.* A rhythm of 4–7 c/s most common in the parieto-temporal areas and sometimes associated with emotional activity.

(13) *Sub-Harmonic.* A frequency component of a complex waveform such that the frequency of the component called the fundamental is an exact multiple of the frequency of the sub-harmonic.

We desire to thank the Managers of Kingswood Training School and the Home Office—whose views are not necessarily expressed herein—for their permission to publish.

We also record—as always—our grateful thanks to our leader and colleague, Professor F. L. Golla, F.R.C.P., for his constant advice and stimulating and bracing criticism.

REFERENCES

BOWLBY, J. (1951). 'Maternal Care and Mental Health.' Geneva: World Health Organization. Pp. 179.

DÜSS, L. (1940). *Arch. Psychol.*, **28,** 1.

ELECTRO-ENCEPHALOGRAPHY (1950). Ed. by J. D. N. Hill and G. Parr. London: Macdonald. Pp. 438.

GIBBS, F. A., GIBBS, E. L., and LENNOX, W. G. (1937). 'Epilepsy: A Paroxysmal Cerebral Dysrhythmia.' *Brain,* **60,** 377.

MADDOCKS, J. A., SESSIONS HODGE, R., and REX, J. (1951). 'Observations on the Occurence of Pre-Central Activity at Alpha Frequencies.' *EEG Clin. Neurophysiol.*, **3,** 370.

MORUZZI, G., and MAGOUN, H. W. (1949). 'Brain Stem Reticular Formation and Activation of the EEG.' *EEG Clin. Neurophysiol.*, **1,** 455.

PIAGET, J. (1932). 'The Moral Judgment of the Child.' London: Kegan, Paul, Trench Trubner & Co. Ltd. Pp. ix + 418.

PIAGET, J. (1952). 'Play, Dreams and Imitation.' London: Heinemann. Pp. ix + 296.

SOLOMON, P., JASPER, H. H., and BRADLEY, C. (1937). 'Studies in Behaviour Problem Children.' *Arch. Neurol. Psychiat.*, **38,** 1350.

WALTER, W. GREY, and SHIPTON, H. W. (1951). 'A New Toposcopic Display System.' *EEG Clin. Neurophysiol.*, **3,** 281.

Le crime ne s'observe pas seulement dans la plupart des sociétés de telle ou telle espèce, mais dans toutes les sociétés de tous les types. Il n'en est pas où il n'existe une criminalité. . . Faire du crime une maladie sociale, ce serait admettre que la maladie n'est pas quelque chose d'accidentel, mais, au contraire, dérive, dans certains cas, de la constitution fondamentale de l'être vivant ; ce serait effacer toute distinction entre le physiologique et le pathologique. Sans doute, il put se faire que le crime lui-même ait des formes anormales ; c'est ce qui arrive quand, par example, il atteint un taux exagéré. . . Ce qui est normal, c'est simplement qu'il ait une criminalité. . .

From EMILE DURKHEIM, 'Les Règles de la Methode sociologique', pp. 65–66.

Respect for observation as opposed to tradition is difficult and (one might almost say) contrary to human nature. . . Few people can be convinced that an obnoxious habit—*e.g.* exhibitionism—cannot be cured by punishment. It is pleasant to punish those who shock us, and we do not like to admit that indulgence in this pleasure is not always socially desirable.

BERTRAND RUSSELL : 'The Impact of Science on Society', p. 18 ; (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1952).

THE 'BORDERLINE DEFECTIVE' DELINQUENT[1]

By HILDA WEBER[2] (LONDON)

THE PROBLEM

The close connection of mental defect with crime led Healy to maintain that mental deficiency forms the largest single cause of delinquency. This opinion appears to be extreme. At the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.) it has been found that of the delinquent cases sent for diagnosis or treatment, on the average 2 per cent. are mentally defective and 4 per cent. borderline defective.

It is indeed remarkable that the association of mental backwardness with delinquency is not more frequent than it is. The borderline defective has difficulties to cope with almost from the start. His low intellectual capacity makes it hard for him to grasp meanings. This slowness is too often looked upon as the stupidity of the obstinate or as just intentionally being tiresome. Contrasting him with other children of his age, his parents and relatives are apt to push and prod him with a vigour and persistence which do not give him the time he needs to mature the various stages of his development. Unable to understand the meaning of much that he hears, he drifts along as best he can, more often than not in a state of hopeless confusion. Frequently punished for an incapacity for which he is not responsible, it is not surprising that the difference between right and wrong is apt to remain for him an insoluble problem. In the world as it is, whatever he does he is always behind. So why try? Here is fertile soil for the development of delinquency.

Far from bringing improvement, time makes matters worse. Life becomes harder as he grows older. His more intelligent contemporaries find him boring and dull, so that he has to find companionship where he may. Often kindly but with little mind of his own, he too frequently becomes the easy prey and suggestible tool of more intelligent minds with criminal tendencies. Later, when they find him too stupid to be safe as a companion in crime, loneliness and unhappiness are added to feelings of inferiority, and so the last shred of self-respect begins to give way.

On the whole, borderline defectives suffer far more than the lower grades. With sufficient intelligence to realize how far they are left behind, they feel they belong nowhere and to nobody. Deprived of a social back-

[1] From a paper read before the Mental Deficiency Section of the Royal-Medico Psychological Association at 11, Chandos Street, London, W.C.1, on November 15th, 1951.

[2] I wish to express my indebtedness to the medical and lay staff of the Portman Clinic for their unfailing co-operation in helping me to obtain clinical material and in other ways assisting me in compiling this paper.

ground and friendly co-operation with others, what wonder that at times they become violent as if in protest against fate, or act recklessly so that they may obtain some notice. If not credit why not notoriety?

As though to underline the problem which the borderline defective presents, even the method of the assessment of his defect presents its difficulties. Some authorities consider the Intelligence Quotient to be the essential standard, others the degree of Social Adaptation. These two methods of assessment at times give very different results, yet they are not so much opposed as usefully complementary.

The I.Q. has one great advantage, it affords a definite means of comparison and measurement. For this reason it has been used in this paper; the patients selected, with certain exceptions, being those with an I.Q. of 80 or under. But just as intelligence is by no means the only or even the chief basis of conduct, so the I.Q. often fails to give an accurate picture of functional capacity. An individual with an I.Q. of 70 may be socially adjusted and therefore not defective, whilst a patient with an I.Q. up to 100 may be so socially maladjusted as to require certification. The following may be taken as an example.

Kenneth L., aged twenty-six, with an I.Q. of 89, had been certified twice because of gross social defectiveness. Homosexual since the age of seven, irresponsible, a liar and a thief, he had been brought before the Courts several times for car stealing and for assaulting boys and little girls. Endowed with a certain low cunning he would use anything to hand as a means of defence. He even tried to embroil the Clinic doctor in his defence when he was arrested for defying a bus conductor who had foiled his attempt to avoid paying his fare. Eventually the conclusion was reached that out-patient treatment was a waste of time and effort, and that the man was better fitted for institutional care.

The I.Q. has a special value as an indication for treatment and placement. For instance, only patients with at least an average I.Q. can really profit by analysis or deep psychotherapy; where defectives in general are concerned the external environment is of first importance. Nevertheless, psychotherapy has a definite place in the treatment of certain borderline cases. Mainly supportive in character, it aims at the development and integration of the patient's constructive potentialities. Where successful it enables him to take his place in society at a level adapted to his own needs and possibilities, so that happiness and achievement replace the misery and frustration of delinquency.

Such an outcome, however limited it may be, requires a careful selection of therapeutic approach according to the capacities of the individual concerned. The description which follows is based on observations made at the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.).

DIAGNOSTIC METHODS

The diagnostic methods adopted at the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.) are as follows: a full psychiatric examination is made and various mental tests applied. A thorough physical examination is carried out. The social history and background is investigated by the psychiatric social worker and where possible contact is effected with the probation officer, the school authorities and other relevant agencies. Where special examinations are necessary steps are taken to have them carried out by the appropriate experts.

In the case of defective or borderline defective children, special attention is paid to the psychological and social aspects of the problem.

Psychological Examination. In the team work of the Portman Clinic the educational psychologist plays a very special and important part. It is not always easy to get a valid I.Q. for a delinquent defective by standardized tests. As one of our psychologists pointed out, even when a high grade defective is friendly and talks fluently, his thinking is naïve and simple. By making the test a social occasion rather than an examination his co-operation is better obtained, and the test becomes, as it should be, therapeutic. Advantage is also taken of the fact that since defectives do not notice their own failures it is possible to let them feel that they have achieved something, and so induce a positive feeling of success.

Many patients feel nervous on their first visit to a doctor; those who come to the Portman Clinic are almost invariably so. Not only is their attendance compulsory, but it is usually associated with guilt or shame if not for the delinquency itself at any rate for the humiliation of exposure. So great may be the emotional disturbance that an average or even a very good intelligence may approximate to that of the borderline defective; and where co-operation is poor, a common contingency when attendance is compulsory, the difficulties of intellectual assessment are still greater. In much the same way trouble may arise in the differentiation of the borderline from the definitely defective patient. Hence the selection and application of appropriate tests, always a matter calling for skilled judgment, are particularly complex in these cases. In carrying out this work the following are the principal tests in use at the Portman Clinic: (1) The Stanford Binet. (2) Wechler's Verbal Scale. (3) Kent's Oral Test. (4) Performance Tests: (*a*) Cube Construction; (*b*) Goodenough's 'Draw-a-Man'; (*c*) Koh's Blocks; (*d*) Raven's Matrices: (i) Children; (ii) Adults. (5) Projection Tests: (*a*) Rorschach; (*b*) Thematic Apperception Test. In the first or second interview academic tests of reading, writing and arithmetic help to decide on disposal.

In assessing intelligence it is essential to determine whether any backwardness is secondary, and if so, what is the cause. When the trouble is lack of schooling, remedial teaching can do much to help the child to gain his rightful place in the school, and so lose a damaging sense of inferiority. Where there is great anxiety this trouble must be righted before remedial teaching is undertaken. Incidentally the value of treatment in freeing hidden but innate capacity is shown by the way in which in spite of every precaution the first test sometimes underestimates native intelligence. A case in point is that of a man whose initial I.Q. was 71. A year later, when treatment had removed his depression, the I.Q. was 87.

Social Investigation and Care. The importance of the work of the psychiatric social worker is too well recognized to need stressing here. Not only is she responsible for the initial social history, that integral part of diagnosis, treatment and after care, but it is she who visits the home or school and in general keeps direct contact with the external environment of the patient, a factor which is of such prime importance in the management of the lower intelligences.

The work of the psychiatric social worker has a further value of its own. The relatives need an individual approach as much as do the patients themselves. Their special difficulties must be sympathetically listened to, so that the needs of both parent and child may be suitably dealt with. This task is not always easy and may be very delicate. For example, take the over-ambitious parent who looks upon the grammar school as a step upward in the social scale or business world, and for this reason will nag, push, punish and urge the child to work for a scholarship far beyond his ability. It is essential for such a parent to come to realize that it is his own handling which is to some extent responsible for his child's bad or ineffective behaviour; whether he is crushed and muddled, or, becoming rebellious, plays truant and even becomes violent. But realization is not enough: a change in the parental attitude is essential. Understanding talks with the psychiatric social worker are of great importance in this very human situation. If they are successful, hope takes the place of disappointment, and the parents come to realize that if anything goes wrong they have another sympathetic court of appeal.

Where the parents are neglectful and unloving, the patient's realization that he is not wanted increases the liability to delinquency. Delinquency in the child adds to the resentment of the parents, and so a vicious circle is set up. In some instances it is possible to effect a change in parental attitude, in others it is out of the question. It may then be best that the child leaves home, and is sent to an E.S.N. or other suitable boarding school.

To add to the social worker's difficulties the parents themselves are often

defective, and may treat their children wrongly because they are bewildered rather than because they are actively unkind.

TREATMENT AND PLACEMENT

In the management of defectives right environment is of prime importance. First and foremost comes the atmosphere of the home with all that this implies. Then there is the world beyond, whether of school or work, including friendships, hobbies and recreations. For the very backward child there is not only the E.S.N. school, day and residential, there is also the ordinary school which has a backward class, or a class with a very understanding teacher. A wrong school atmosphere for the child comes only second in importance to wrong treatment in the home. Harshness causes work to be regarded as something to be avoided, to escape and hide from, whether at the back of the class or by downright truancy. Punishment increases feelings of fear and inferiority and so becomes a further source of delinquent behaviour. On the other hand a sympathetic teacher can achieve remarkably good results.

Henry D., aged twelve and a half, with an I.Q. of 60, was accepted by the Clinic only on the representation of a leading medical authority because of the lad's former good report. His offence, the larceny of a bicycle which he said he had found in a ditch, came as a bolt from the blue to his parents who had long recognized his defect and had tried to make provision for it. His mother, realizing that he was easily led, had been in the habit of conducting him to school in order to prevent an otherwise inevitable truancy. When he was twelve she discontinued the practice, hoping that habit and long training would prevent such a happening, especially as he was happy at school where the headmaster was understanding and did not expect too much. All had gone well until there was a new headmaster who treated Henry as an ordinary boy, punishing him for his failure in school work. The results were catastrophic. Formerly kind, affectionate and helpful at home he became difficult to manage and teased his younger siblings unmercifully. He also associated with rougher boys who bullied and confused him and whose tool he became. He then began to steal alone, often foolishly and senselessly. Once he took an old rag which he said he had taken for a girl friend to make a blouse with. When brought again before the Courts the Clinic recommended that he should not go to an Approved School; in spite of his repeated offences he was not ' bad '. Because of his low I.Q. he simply could not distinquish right from wrong. The Court deemed that with an I.Q. of 60 he was E.S.N. and executed a Fit Persons Order to the L.C.C., who undertook to place him in an E.S.N. residential school. It is likely that there he will do well, and fortunately when he leaves school he will have a good home to return to.

Even so, in common with other boys from E.S.N. schools, he may find the world outside too difficult unless care as to employment is taken. After living in the sheltered environment of the E.S.N. school, where he has been

accustomed to receive praise for any well-intentioned effort, he may find it difficult to adjust himself to a more work-a-day world where employers may demand more than he can give, and his fellow employees, especially where there is team work, may laugh at or even be annoyed with his comparatively slow and poor performance. In such a case it is difficult to overestimate the importance of careful placement to avoid undue strain, and here vocational guidance performs a very valuable work. The needs and capacity of each individual have to be assessed separately so that occupation is related to the type of difficulty and personality.

Edward T., aged thirty-five, is a remarkable example. With an I.Q. of 30 and unable to read or write, he had been able to keep in steady and regular employment for years at a weekly wage of £5. He was the only defective member in a family of eleven. When he was referred to the Portman Clinic, he had just been discharged for having stolen castings from his place of employment. It is of interest that the Courts should have referred this man to the Portman Clinic. He had never stolen at home and his present senseless theft seemed to be on a par with that of a magpie. He was too grossly defective to realize that it was wrong; punishment would only have confused and worried him, and he would have been a useless charge on the State. His low I.Q. meant that he was quite untreatable, yet even so useful advisory work was possible. We recommended that he should be sent home and encouraged to obtain suitable work as soon as possible to keep him employed. As long as his mother and sister are alive he is better with them than in an institution.

Henry D. and Edward T. illustrate the value of a good home for defective delinquents. In other cases a change in home environment, especially where there is a faulty parent-child relationship, may effect a dramatic change for the better. Such a situational adjustment was Dolly R.

Dolly R. was aged eighteen when she was brought before the Courts for selling a child's frock which she had stolen from a shop where she was working. The eldest of six children, two of whom were mentally defective, she had an unhappy childhood. Her father was a drunkard who, when in drink, would knock her mother about. Fond of her mother, this distressed the child; it also aroused in her strong feelings of guilt, probably not so much from her position as the eldest of the family but because, as she said, ' When Dad upset Mum she took it out on me.' It is difficult to gauge the degree of doubt and insecurity that this treatment must have roused in her childish mind. Resentment may well have warred with a guilty feeling that she should have stopped her father: why otherwise had her mother punished her? Certainly these were some of her unhappiest memories.

When she was twelve years old her mother died, and finally any remaining security must have vanished when her father married again. His second wife, the typical wicked stepmother of fairy tales, treated her stepchildren so badly that she was eventually sent to prison. Dolly went to the National Children's Homes as being in need of care and protection, where she spent ' the best time of her life. . . . It was lovely ', she said.

On her return to her father's home three and a half years later, complaints

were made that she was out late at night. She did in fact frequent a public house where she associated with a man who at the time of her own conviction was serving a three-years' sentence for theft; a bad companion for a girl whose home had never given her any firm foundation, any certain values or even happiness. She said, 'I have never been really happy'. Indicative of the great lack in her life was the next comment: 'I am of no value.' It is not surprising that such a poor opinion of herself should have been matched by a similar small regard for other people's property.

The point at issue was how best to counteract these faulty habits and build up others at once more satisfying to her and more useful to society. With this end in view treatment at the Portman Clinic began. It was fortunate that in spite of all she had undergone she had not a severe neurosis; with her poor intelligence, psychotherapy could not have effected a radical change in personality. What she required first and foremost was encouragement, wise handling and the realization that she really mattered. With these needs supplied she had sufficient spirit to grow and make good. 'It's up to me what I make of it' she once remarked, so epitomizing both her opinion of life and her own precocious maturity. Marriage during treatment further assisted her growing self-confidence and a corresponding decrease of a strong sense of inferiority. The husband, a steady man whose affection gave her that necessary background of love and security for which she had always craved, also enabled her to leave home. This was not easy. As Dolly said: 'My people didn't want me before, but now I'm married it's different.' This opposition had a value of its own. It enlisted her husband's sympathy and Dolly needed an understanding husband. Not that matters went by any means smoothly at first. John soon found that his wife was not always truthful. He had a still greater shock when he discovered that she had been in trouble with the police. A personal interview at the Portman Clinic helped him in both these respects, so assisting the young couple in their problem of mutual adjustment. Happily John not only loved his wife, he had also considerable insight into her difficulties and inconsistencies. 'She manages very well sometimes, at others money melts', he once remarked. Just as the Portman Clinic in its advisory capacity was able to smooth out some marital difficulties, so her husband's loyalty and deep love released Dolly from the drive to injure society. No longer insecure, desperate and hopeless, it is not surprising that there was no further offence.

The following is a good example of the way in which one story may be good until the other is told.

Mary B. was aged sixteen when she was brought before the Court for stealing £86 which she was taking to the bank for her employers. She had never been in trouble before yet significantly enough she was the one member of her family upon whom her mother felt she could not depend. Mrs. K.'s rather aggrieved attitude as she spoke about her daughter suggested at the outset the possibility of a mother-daughter conflict. Investigation showed that this was so. The second of three children by her mother's first marriage, Mary got on sufficiently well with her step-father; it was with her mother that her troubles chiefly lay. Consciously Mrs. K. had done her best to give her children a good home. Bustling and energetic, what she did not realize was that her standards, readily accepted by the rest of her family, for Mary, with her low I.Q., were too rigid and impossibly

high. To make matters worse, the less her daughter conformed the stricter and more exacting her mother became. She complained that Mary's judgment of people was unsound, but in justice to the girl she had not had much opportunity of learning. Possessive and over-careful, Mrs. K., considering that home duties were a sufficient recreation, kept her whole family at home. Mary she held particularly closely. It had always been the same. As a child she was never allowed to go to school alone, always her elder sister and younger brother accompanied her, so certain was Mrs. K. that without this precaution she would almost certainly have played truant. When the girl went to work, matters were not much better. Mrs. K. made her give up all the money she earned, and from this she allowed her some pocket-money, and even still bought her clothes.

The absence of any real give and take between mother and daughter meant that the home, materially good, did not give fair scope for the girl's emotional development. Too tightly tied to her family, she did not feel that she was part of it. Her present delinquency had its roots in a resultant lack of stability as well as in adolescent immaturity. She had recently fallen in love with Basil D., a young man in the forces, who had taken her out several times and introduced her to his family. His parents liked Mary and welcomed her as their future daughter-in-law. They made such a fuss of her, taking her out in their car and so on, that they completely turned her head. At last she felt she was really somebody. Her theft may have been partly prompted by her fear of losing this position. In any case she had stolen the money so that she might meet Basil on his way to camp after being home on leave. When she met him he told her to go back to work. Instead of doing so she spent £40 on new clothes for herself, so asserting her independence of her mother, as well as satisfying her desire to look attractive. Then, probably frightened at what she had done, she went to the police station, where her mother later found her in tears. It is significant that twice before she had gone off by herself for a few hours at the invitation of a man.

At the diagnostic interview at the Portman Clinic she was very tense and anxious, and when the subject of her mother came up she became so distressed that she could not speak. The Court deemed that she was a very maladjusted girl. In view of the fact that a faulty mother-daughter relationship was one of her stumbling blocks, residence in a hostel was made one condition of her probation. Away from the cramping, discouraging atmosphere of her home, in the comparative freedom and wise discipline of the hostel she had the opportunity to develop in a way she had not known before. But this liberty needed some personal guidance. It was here that the Portman Clinic had a part to play. The opinion of the consultant there had been that her upbringing and a low I.Q. lay at the root of her present trouble. The precipitating factors were adolescent instability, a serious love affair and the undue spoiling by her young man's people; these together had combined to upset her (never very stable, values. He recommended an occasional interview at the Clinic to help the Probation Officer in reorientating the girl. At the same time the psychiatric social worker would be able to help the mother, who had insight enough to realize that Mary had difficulties of her own. From now on matters improved, and there was no repetition of the offence.

These cases illustrate both the difficulties and the opportunities of that greatest of all problems in approved schools, the borderline defective. Here

these patients tend to be congregated in large numbers, partly because they are not able to escape detection so well as their more intelligent companions, and partly because they are more liable to repeat the offence. Easily led, they learn very slowly; yet properly approached, they are specially helpable. They respond more quickly to a kindly atmosphere than do brighter individuals with similar symptoms who, other things being equal, are more seriously maladjusted. The stir and interest aroused also give a sense of power and importance, and help to counteract the previous sense of hopeless inferiority. More important still the feeling that he really matters helps the patient to make that effort which experience has hitherto taught him to be useless. This change in outlook has an important bearing upon treatment and helps to account for the good results of a simple, supportive therapy. In this way individual treatment can be of use for certain patients with an I.Q. as low as even 65.

These factors were undoubtedly helpful in the following case in which play therapy did good work for a delinquent with an I.Q. of 72. This is the more remarkable since for the most part only average or above-average intellects are referred to this department.

Paul J. was referred to the Clinic on June 15, 1948, at the age of twelve, having been charged with larceny. His mental development seemed to have been delayed at the age of two and a half when he was involved in a bombing incident. His brother, two years younger, had been killed and his parents had to be treated in hospital. The boy himself was severely concussed and was in hospital for several months. He was blind for three weeks. To make matters worse he had had his tonsils out a short time before. On the first three visits to the playroom he rejected all advances, and was quite silent. On the fourth visit he spoke a little, and from then on slowly but surely became less fearful and better able to mix with the other boys in the playroom. Then one day in December, 1950, he went through all the bombing incident in sand. Wearing a hat, and three sheriff belts complete with guns, he spoke in terms of revenge against the Germans. Next he played out the bombing theme with a doll's house, and finally illustrated the whole story with drawings on the blackboard. In the following months, as though freed from a burden which had checked normal growth, he was able to work through the various phases of his development in play. At one period he was very aggressive and he almost seemed to pass through the infantile and adolescent stages of sexual development together. The accomplishment of this latter feat was facilitated by the fact that in the play-therapy department a man and a woman work together, so that Paul was able to play off on them his difficult mother-father situation. Even superficially this was important for his home atmosphere was not good. His mother was neurotic, and his father was a harsh and difficult man who was very discouraging to his son. In course of time Paul's whole attitude and behaviour changed for the better. The shy, timid and untidy boy became happy and self-confident, had a pleasant manner and was spruce and neat. So marked was the change for the better that his intelligence was re-tested in Novem-

ber, 1951. Strangely enough it remained at its original level, though the psychologist remarked upon the great improvement in his manner, appearance and approach. She also noted that he could now read and write, whilst two years ago he did not know his letters. There is every prospect that when Paul leaves school next year he will make good, always provided that he has suitable employment.

This is a good example of the way play-therapy has enabled a retarded individual to develop sufficiently in outlook and character to become an adequate citizen up to the limit of his capacity. The way in which the play-therapists (Miss Perry and Mr. Edwards), by acting as mother and father figures, helped him to work through the troubles which his home situation had introduced, recalls similar important work which Dr. Alice Buck and Dr. T. Grygier have carried out at the Portman Clinic; working in close collaboration they have enabled some borderline delinquent boys to work through a difficult mother and father situation.

Defectives sometimes display extravagant emotions which would be of serious import if they occurred in a better intellect. But borderline delinquents are often not so much evil as the victims of life, and of their own defects. In this way gross sexual offences do not necessarily imply gross disorder of character.

Percy F., age thirty-nine, I.Q. 70, was charged with indecent exposure at a time when he felt life was finished for him. With a good service record in the Navy throughout the war, he developed T.B. and was invalided out of the Navy. When undergoing treatment at the Clinic he learned that his X-ray examination showed that his T.B. was walled off and had become stationary. This good news meant much to Percy F. Hope returned and encouraged by his doctor he entered the Customs Service and settled down well. He who had been miserable and lost because life held nothing for him, now working in a job he liked, became happy and secure. There was no repetition of his offence.

Gross hysteria is common amongst defectives who may behave dangerously just as may an epileptic. Other borderline cases display grandiose delusions which in a better intellect would be serious, but in these patients may be compensatory.

Lawrence T., aged fourteen, with an I.Q. of 68, was sent to the Portman Clinic by a member of the School Care Committee because his headaches were so severe that he was often absent from school. An X-ray examination revealed nothing abnormal. It was only when treatment had relieved his anxiety that the headaches disappeared. What appeared to the doctor to be more serious than his headaches were the lad's delusions of grandeur. At one time he took up music and boasted of his coming fame as an opera singer at Covent Garden. At another time he had grandiose delusions of becoming a great film producer. Dr. Franklin listened to these outpourings sympathetically. Whereupon the lad's grandiose ideas began to recede and eventually his ambitions were reduced to a level in keeping with the

world of reality. It was as though Dr. Franklin's understanding reception of his ideas satisfied a great and primitive need so that he no longer required compensatory phantasies and delusions. Treatment has now ceased and Lawrence is earning his own living quite efficiently. This example of conflict between a strong personality and poor mental equipment presents a further point of interest. He learned to read late, but then taught himself about wireless and read intelligently books on musical instruments and other serious subjects which would have seemed beyond an I.Q. of 68. A careful re-test by a psychologist however showed no change. It was as though treatment had enabled him to make use of his hitherto repressed potentialities.

Such experience with psychopathic delinquents with a low I.Q. has an important bearing on the value of right environment. Where this is combined with psychotherapy adapted to the needs of the individual concerned markedly good results may be achieved. Even the man or woman with a low I.Q. is of more worth when freed from anxiety or obsessional trouble.

John P. is such a case. At the age of twenty-four he was referred to the Clinic by the Court. A borderline defective, he also stammered, suffered from enuresis, and walked in his sleep. Always an inadequate psychopath, he had been so unhappy at school that he had run away three times; sensitive and shy he could not stand up to the other boys who ragged him unmercifully. Now, at the age of twenty-four, his recent offences (sending overseas cablegrams for which he had not paid) were connected with a childish obsession for film stars. After two years of individual treatment his former mental age of ten to eleven had increased to that of early adolescence. Possessing now a real sense of responsibility, his whole personality had developed, and he was doing competent work in an office.

CONCLUSIONS

In assessing the pros and cons of psychotherapy for a borderline defective, both the possibilities and the limitations of his character and general development need careful appraisement. One requirement however holds good for all. Whatever the form of treatment ultimately decided upon, a sympathetic, understanding and secure background is essential for the successful handling of all borderline defectives. The earlier in life this approach is made the better. In any case there can be no doubt but that a well-run Clinic with an adequate medical and lay staff and suitable accommodation means economy of time, effort and money for the social services in general, and the law in particular.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) ADLER, A. (1948). 'Guiding Human Misfits.' London: Faber and Faber Ltd. Pp. 114.

(2) BINET, A., and SIMON, T. (1913). 'A Method of Measuring the Development of the Intelligence of Young Children.' Translation by C. H. Town. Lincoln, Illinois: Courier, Herald and Co. Pp. 82.

(3) BLACKBURN, J. (1945). 'Psychology and the Social Pattern.' London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd. Pp. 157.
(4) BOVET, L. (1951). 'Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency.' Geneva: World Health Organization, Monograph Series. Pp. 90.
(5) BOWLBY, J. (1951). 'Maternal Care and Mental Health.' Geneva: World Health Organization, Monograph Series. Pp. 179.
(6) BUCK, A., and GRYGIER, T. (1951). 'A New Attempt in Psychotherapy with Juvenile Delinquents.' Read before the Brit. Psych. Soc. Med. Section.
(7) BURT, C. (1925). 'The Young Delinquent.' London: London Univ. Press. Pp. xx + 645.
(8) DAVIES, S. P. (1930). 'Social Control of the Mentally Deficient.' London: Constable and Co. Ltd. Pp. 389.
(9) DOLL, E. A. (1935). 'The Measurement of Social Competence', *Proc. Amer. Assoc. on Mental Deficiency*, **40,** 103–26.
(10) DOLL, E. A. (1947). 'Is Mental Deficiency Curable?', *Amer. J. ment. Def.*, **51,** 420–8.
(11) EAST, W. N., STOCKS, P., and YOUNG, H. T. P. (1942). 'The Adolescent Criminal.' London: J. and A. Churchill Ltd. Pp. 327.
(12) HALL, A. J. (1923). 'Encephalitis Lethargica', *Lancet*, (i), 731–40.
(13) HEALY, W. (1915). 'The Individual Delinquent.' Boston: Little, Brown and Co. Pp. 372.
(14) HUMPHREYS, E. J. (1940). 'Psychopathic Personality among the Mentally Defective', *Psychiat. Quart.*, **14,** 231–47.
(15) KANNER, L. (1942). 'Exoneration of the Feeble-minded', *Amer. J. Psychiat.*, **99,** 17–22.
(16) KENNEDY, F. (1942). 'The Problem of Social Control of the Congenital Defective', *Amer. J. Psychiat.*, **99,** 13–6.
(17) LANGE, J. (1931). 'Crime as Destiny.' Translated by C. Haldane, with a foreword by J. B. S. Haldane. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pp. 199.
(18) MILNER, K. C. (1949). 'Delinquent Types of Mentally Defective Persons', *J. ment. Sci.*, **95,** 842–59.
(19) PAILTHORPE, G. W. (1932). 'Studies in the Psychology of Delinquency.' London: Medical Research Council Special Report Series, No. 170. Pp. 113.
(20) PENROSE, L. S. (1949). 'The Biology of Mental Defect.' London: Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd. Pp. 285.
(21) ROHAN, J. C. (1946). 'Mental Disorder in the Adult Defective', *J. ment. Sci.*, **92,** 551–63.
(22) SARASON, S. B. (1949). 'Psychological Problems in Mental Deficiency.' New York: Harper and Brothers. Pp. x + 366.
(23) SHUTTLEWORTH, C. E., and POTTS, W. A. (1922). 'Mentally Deficient Children.' London: H. K. Lewis and Co. Ltd. Pp. 320.
(24) THOM, D. A. (1942). 'Convulsions of Early Life and their Relation to the Chronic Convulsive Disorders and Mental Defect', *Amer. J. Psychiat.*, **98,** 576–80.
(25) TREDGOLD, A. F. (1922). 'Mental Deficiency.' London: Bailliere, Tindall and Cox. Pp. 564.
(26) WILDENSKOV, H. O. (1934). 'Investigation into the Cause of Mental Deficiency.' London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Pp. 113.
(27) YANNET, H., and LIEBERMANN, R. (1944). 'The Rh Factor in the Etiology of Mental Deficiency', *Amer. J. ment. Def.*, **49,** 133–7.

A STUDY OF A POLICE DIVISION

By JOHN BARRON MAYS

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the district with which this survey is concerned, communal authority would seem to be vested in the school teacher, the priests, the social worker and the police officer as much as in the ordinary citizen or parent. This probably accounts for the anomaly of the boy who is well-behaved at school and a nuisance at home, co-operative in the club and antisocial in the street. But it is probable that there is no individual in whom so much power in the legal sense is vested as the ordinary constable 'pounding his beat'. The efficiency with which he carries out his duties, the degree of confidence he creates, his judgement, his tact, sympathy and commonsense will have a direct bearing upon the crime rate of the area as a whole. In particular his attitude will affect the numbers of juveniles charged and brought to the courts. Bagot [1] pointed out the direct connection between court statistics and police methods and procedures. A diminishing use of police cautions was observed as the sole altered factor responsible for the increased number of juveniles charged in Liverpool between the years 1934 and 1936. Police methods and procedures, the outlook and attitude of the constables on their beats or of higher officials responsible for making decisions are important yet often neglected aspects of the problem of delinquency. This is particularly the case in Liverpool where the Chief Constable has appointed special officers to take charge of Juvenile Liaison work, to co-operate with all agencies interested in young people, to establish contacts with parents and with the schools, and to do all within their power to prevent children ever having to appear in court. It is, as it were, ambulance work before the crash, a singularly imaginative attempt to apply prevention at an age and at stages where there is still a chance of successful remedial treatment.

This enquiry was undertaken to discover what are the attitudes of the ordinary police officer to juveniles and particularly to juvenile offenders. It was hoped to ascertain how much co-operation there was between the Police and other social services and to suggest ways in which the Police might be employed in a large-scale anti-delinquency programme.

[1] 'Juvenile Delinquency' by J. H. Bagot, M.A., 1941, p. 20 and p. 86. See also 'Social Aspects of Crime in England Between the Wars' by H. Mannheim (1940), especially pp. 80–89.

THE SCOPE OF THE ENQUIRY

In all 50 police officers were interviewed at divisional headquarters by courtesy of the Chief Constable. Their total combined years of police service was slightly over 672 years, of which 558 had been spent in the particular division. The average length of service, therefore, for the group as a whole was 11 years, long enough to provide each man with a thorough knowledge of the neighbourhood and its many and varied problems.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND TRAINING

The educational background of the officers was mainly elementary though among the younger men there was a sprinkling of grammar school boys : one recruit came from a public school.

The details are as follows : Elementary School 33, Grammar and High School 9, Technical 6, Public School 1, Other 1.

REASONS FOR ENLISTING

A variety of reasons was given for joining the force, from a dislike of indoor occupation to financial advantage. A number did not give any reason and it may be inferred that police service was to them a job like any other ; but it was encouraging to note that many men entered the service for what may fairly be termed vocational reasons. They believed that the work was socially valuable and through it they hoped to serve the community. One or two became policemen as the next best to probation service, for which they had been rejected. Not surprisingly the disciplined life and comradeship attracted men who had enjoyed their military service, men who would have found it irksome to settle down in the more usual civilian occupations. Of those interviewed 32 per cent. were ex-servicemen, either regulars or wartime conscripts. Some 28 per cent. had chosen the work either because of its resemblance to military life or because it was out-of-doors and non-sedentary. The majority, however, had enlisted because the police force offered them a measure of security (especially those who had undergone periods of unemployment) with reasonable wages, a chance of promotion ; the prospect of a pension and a respectable social standing. Amongst those who joined for family reasons have been classed those whose fathers had been policemen and one who wanted to please a parent.

Many of the men gave more than one reason ; as one said, he ' wanted to be a policeman quite early in life, liked an out-of-doors job, reasonable prospects and comradeship. Ex-Forces '. In these cases the most important cause has been taken as the first given. The case quoted above was rated as ' Vocational ' in so far as the desire was shown quite early in life ; but since it is considered that other reasons reinforced this earlier

interest they have also been scored in the other categories. Seven men offered no reason at all while the other 43 gave one or more reasons which can be tabulated as follows :—reasonable job, good pay and security etc., 23 ; out-of-door life, discipline, comradeship similar to Forces 14 ; a branch of Social Service 8 ; sense of vocation 5 ; family reasons 3.

OTHER POINTS IN THE DIVISION

This particular division was generally considered to be an interesting one to work in as contrasted with suburban and generally middle-class areas. There was usually something to do, and every man had an opportunity to demonstrate his efficiency. The element of physical danger that often attends the carrying out of routine duties has created a good spirit of comradeship among the men. There were, of course, some grounds for complaint and dissatisfaction with working conditions which are irrelevant to this enquiry, but one or two points that were raised would seem to have a bearing on the problem of delinquency. The beats are often too thinly covered, with the result that a fair amount of hooliganism goes unchecked and unreported. It was felt by many men that the sight of the uniformed constable constantly patrolling his beat had considerable preventive value and for this reason an increase of establishment was urgent. Two reasons were given for the thinning of the beats. One was the shortage of manpower which was not unconnected with conditions and pay and the second was the increased use of motor patrols. The latter tended to be impersonal, and cut off the police from intimate knowledge of the people and habits of a district. It was agreed that nothing could replace the constable moving on foot in a limited area, knowing the alleys and backways where patrol cars could not penetrate, familiar with the people and knowing many of them by name and address.

RECRUITMENT AND CONDITIONS

The question of recruitment and its allied problem, that of wastage, due to resignation from the force of young men dissatisfied with conditions, presents the Home Office with a grave problem. Rightly or wrongly some men believe that the police discipline code is out-moded, that there is an excess of petty regulations, that no commendation is given for holding a peaceful beat, that the system tends to encourage the officious and to assess a constable's efficiency by the number of cases he obtains, that there are too many checks on subordinates, a lack of elasticity and insufficient latitude for the exercise of discretion. This indicates that inadequate pay is not the

sole reason for the low rate of recruitment and the extent of wastage. The question of night duty and shift work is something that must be squarely faced and an adequate scheme of compensation worked out if the service is once again to be regarded as a desirable job. Great contempt was expressed for those few individual colleagues who were constantly on the look out to make a charge. They were condemned as 'body-snatchers' and blamed for bad personal relationships with the neighbourhood. And, although only 16 per cent. complained of lack of discretionary power and excessive rigidity of control, it is likely that others refrained from uttering their views for fear of later consequences. During the interviews one frequently felt that the men feared to give full vent to their feelings.

ATTITUDE TO THE JOB

It was soon apparent that the great majority of the men interviewed had a good attitude to their job as measured by their appreciation of its social importance and by their interpretation of its scope. An evaluative scale was worked out partly on the basis of their replies when questioned regarding their idea of the function of the police and partly by their demeanour during interview and general desire to be helpful and co-operative (one constable took the subject so seriously that he came to the interview armed with notes).

On a graded scale making A plus excellent, A very good, A— good, B plus satisfactory, B less satisfactory and B— unsatisfactory, the following distribution was obtained :—A plus 1 ; A 13 ; A— 7 ; B plus 14 ; B 14 ; B— 1.

42 per cent. would seem to be in the good category, 28 per cent. satisfactory and 30 per cent. not so satisfactory, judged by their degree of insight they showed into the social importance of their job and their breadth of view and sympathetic approach. It is a picture which is, on the whole, more than creditable to the service. Nor is it to be deduced that the bottom 30 per cent. were not capable police officers adequately carrying out responsible duties. It would be fairer perhaps to say that over 40 per cent. of the men under review showed a keen understanding of their job *over and above* what is laid down as their official duties, and that in so far as this was true were verging on being social workers. One man, the Juvenile Liaison Officer for that particular district, would immediately qualify for the category of social worker rather than of policeman. This tendency is probably likely to be developed more and more if the right men can be attracted to the work and if conditions and status of employment can be developed to make it a profession on the same level as other essential social services.

RELATIONS WITH RESIDENTS

Relationships are among the most difficult problems in a policeman's life. 'Once a bobby, always a bobby' holds true of private as of official relationships. About 10 per cent. complained that they suffered from social ostracism and that this at times was even extended to include their wives and families. A great many were aware of hostility from local inhabitants which made their work more difficult than it need have been. But this attitude of hostility was at times tempered by secret co-operation. People will pass on information privately to a constable so long as they are not seen doing it and can avoid any social repercussions. But the general opinion was that the people in the 'bad area', along the side of the docks, were hostile to the police. Only one or two who had been in the division a long time said that they could expect a certain amount of help when they got into a 'sticky corner'. The position is perhaps best summed up in the words of one man that 'When they're in trouble the policeman is number one to turn to but when you're in trouble they're missing'. In the old days, it was pointed out, at a certain bridewell in another area of the city women came to give birth to their children and the man on duty had to be prepared to act as a midwife.

48 per cent. of the men stated that they were fairly often consulted by inhabitants of the district on matters that were not purely police concerns. The man on the beat is often asked in to help settle some family dispute or to adjudicate in an argument. Matrimonial advice is often sought where husbands and wives are at loggerheads. One of the boys may be insolent and so the policeman is asked to speak to him. One constable said he was asked to thrash a boy for his mother but wisely declined. A woman will stop a policeman on his beat and ask him how to apply for assistance or how to bring a complaint against a landlord. Does he know a club where Charlie could go to at night? Is 14/6 a week a legal rent for their sort of house?

All this suggests a high degree of confidence in the force as a whole and is a compliment to its integrity and efficiency. It emphasizes the value of the man on the beat, the familiar figure symbolizing disinterested help and protection. One can see the enormous advantage of mobile patrols for the apprehension of criminals and even for the prevention of serious crime. But the man on his regular beat, the man to whom small children offer their precious sweets at school crossings, the man who knows the occupants of the houses by name and penetrates every street and back-crack cannot be spared. It is he who gives the essential human touch to a public service that needs co-operation if it is to function properly.

RELATIONS WITH CHILDREN

An attempt was made to judge whether or not the men were individually sympathetic to the needs and problems of young people and juveniles. Each man was asked his views on local children, and in particular his views on youngsters who broke the law and caused a nuisance. A constable was classed as sympathetic on the grounds of such answers as 'Likes doing school point duty', 'Against being a bogey-man', 'No criminals are born', 'Victims of parental neglect', 'Lack of play space and equipment', 'Keen on youth clubs', 'Children need re-education', 'Children not getting a square deal round here'. They were classed as unsympathetic on the grounds of such replies as 'The children don't appreciate what is done for them', 'Kids prefer forbidden fruit', 'The environment is not to blame', 'The faults lie within themselves', 'They are not respectful enough to the man in uniform'. Where no clear answers were given the attitude was rated as 'neutral'. The distribution was as follows:—Sympathetic 31; Neutral 8; Unsympathetic 11. There were, of course, variations of degree within the three broad categories. The man who said he would like to have been a Probation Officer, and the man who expressed a desire to become a Juvenile Liaison Officer were probably more sympathetic and understanding in their outlook than others within the same class. The fact that so large a majority of the men gave clear evidence of their understanding of children's needs and difficulties is commendable and significant. It is not, after all, a necessary qualification for admission to the police service that a man should have broad and humane views on youth and childhood, particularly as children cause so much trouble in the district and occupy so much precious time and attention. It was estimated that in this station alone there were some half dozen complaints each day about trivial street offences, all of which had to be looked into and some action taken. The charging of juveniles cannot be considered as a feather in the officer's cap, nor is a visit to the juvenile court thought of as a field day. On the whole one got a strong impression that the average policeman in this division was a kindly, well-disposed, helpful individual, conscious of his responsibilities and anxious to carry out his duty to society with consideration and care.

THE JUVENILE COURTS

The subject of juvenile courts was one which elicited keen interest and clear-cut views. Only one of the fifty men interviewed had neither personal experience of the courts nor views on procedure and treatment. Some of the men had a great deal to say on this subject and it was clear from the warmth of their expression that they felt deeply. It was obvious that there

was considerable dissatisfaction with the present machinery for dealing with juvenile delinquents which, they felt, was reacting unfavourably on their own job. Only 16 per cent. expressed themselves generally satisfied with the treatment given to youngsters in the courts, and even they asked for some modifications and variations of sentence. The vast majority, about 80 per cent., were in varying degrees dissatisfied with the arrangements and an attempt was made to list their objections and suggestions.

Over half the men (52 per cent.) were of the opinion that the magistrates were in some respect inadequate for their task. It was surprising how frequently the phrase 'out of touch' occurred. On fourteen separate occasions it was alleged that the Justices were socially out of touch both with young people and with the sort of district from which the majority of delinquents come. This was said to result in softness and even partiality in deciding treatment. On ten occasions it was alleged that magistrates erred seriously on the side of excessive leniency. One or two complained that the magistrates were too old for the job and that they sometimes allowed themselves to be bluffed. It was the opinion of 12 per cent. that police reports were received with scepticism and that officers giving evidence felt, as one man put it, 'as though they were on trial as much as the offender'. Inevitably the subject of birching cropped up and where views were expressed, the preponderating opinion was that the birch should be reintroduced for cases of violence and for confirmed miscreants. 40 per cent. of all the men were of this view and only 6 per cent. were definitely against. A further minority of 6 per cent. were not keen on official whipping being brought back and the remainder did not express an opinion either way.

The informal nature of juvenile courts was not generally acceptable. 22 per cent. were convinced that this atmosphere was not the correct one and that more of 'the majesty of the law' should be brought back. It was advocated by some that a witness stand should be used and that the court should resemble an adult court as closely as possible. One man described it as 'A pets' corner' and others spoke of proceedings as often 'a farce'.

Stress was generally placed on punishment and behind many of the criticisms was the old idea of retribution. It was clearly only a minority who appreciated that a juvenile court was not a watered down adult court, that ascertainment of guilt and consequent dismissal or punishment were not the main issues. They were either unsympathetic to, or ignorant of, the true purpose of a juvenile court, which is broadly therapeutic and concerned more with the rehabilitation of the child than the punishment of transgressors. But the significant fact is that the police, rightly or wrongly, hold this view and, as a result, experience frustration and irritation. They feel that it is not very much use to charge a juvenile if, when he goes before

the magistrates, he is treated with excessive kindness and dealt with over-leniently.

Certain interesting complaints were made about the waiting room outside the court. There, it was alleged, parents often abuse the officers who are on duty to give evidence against their sons. Children play games such as tick and the whole atmosphere of the waiting room can become a mockery. An officer might have to listen to youngsters coolly discussing between themselves 'the job' they had done and why they happened in this instance to get found out. And, after the hearing, it is not uncommon for both parents and children, as they leave the building, to jeer at and ridicule the constable. Children come to court dressed for the occasion and many children act like innocents while the proceedings are in progress and come out boasting. Such experiences, not unnaturally, make police reluctant to attend the juvenile court and to subject themselves and the law, whose dignity they feel they embody, to disrespect and contumely.

HOMES AND PARENTS

There was a not surprising unanimity among those interviewed that homes were the true source of all social problems and that the way in which parents look after, or fail to look after, their offspring is of crucial importance in the etiology of delinquency. 90 per cent. stated definitely that bad home life is the cause of juvenile misdemeanours. Parents were in many cases found culpable of lax discipline, lack of interest in their children's activities and absence of any sense of social shame. Others were accused of wishing to shed the burden of their parental responsibilities and to pass them on to the general public. Some parents even set a positively bad example and encourage their children to lie and steal. For such parents the only offence a child can commit is to be found out.

There was strong agreement that coercive measures should be adopted to deal with lazy, indifferent, or criminal parents and it was felt that the law as it stands at present is inadequate to achieve this. Most of the men laid great stress on the necessity of punishment and the value of compulsion. Where parental neglect could be proved parents should be punished either as well as, or instead of, the child. It was agreed that the punishment should be sufficient to make a lasting impression on parents and that petty fining was totally inadequate. 40 per cent. of those interviewed were convinced that the best place to hit parents was in their pockets, and that fairly substantial fines should be imposed by the bench. A further 24 per cent. suggested that parents should be bound over in a sum of money for the good conduct of their children and that if the child appeared before the court again within a year of the first offence, this money might be forfeited. A

small group, 12 per cent., believed that parents should be punished for their children's delinquency but were not convinced of the best way this could be done. In all, 76 per cent. of the officers upheld punitive views regarding parents failing to meet their responsibilities. It is an attitude that we might have expected to predominate in view of general police training and experience which emphasize the apprehension of the criminal and the necessity for retribution. It is an understandably rigid legalistic attitude.

VIEWS ON THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

There was a general appreciation of the fact that the physical conditions of the area were likely to aggravate and even create social problems and it was realized that bad housing, lack of public amenities, poverty and general decay made the task of upbringing more difficult than it should be. Slum clearance schemes in the area have been confined to replacement of insanitary houses by massive blocks of flats and it was interesting to observe the cleavage of opinion on the matter. A great many of the police disliked tenements for aesthetic or other reasons not connected with crime but 40 per cent. believed that they were breeding grounds for juvenile gangs. The blocks with their many staircases and landings are extremely difficult to supervise. Little groups can assemble for card schools and other illicit activities without being detected by the constable on his patrol. Several of the men stated that they knew of tenement gangs and spoke of their occasional clashes together and raids upon each other. Opinion on the blocks was evenly split on this point and an equal number (40 per cent.) were of the opinion that they were often better, and certainly no worse, than the ordinary street houses they replaced. If juveniles formed gangs in the tenements it was no worse than ganging on street corners. The flats, moreover, eliminated a lot of troubles that arise from small alley-ways and entries and served to some extent to keep the more troublesome elements sealed off from the main thoroughfares and the area as a whole. Conditions inside were infinitely better than in many of the old, unhygienic, overcrowded cottages that are still inhabited in the district. It is not without significance that the section or division picked out as a black-spot for juvenile misbehaviour, gambling and wilful damage, lay adjacent to the docks and in the area where all but one of the large blocks of flats have been erected.

Perhaps the most constructive and thoughtful view was put forward by a small number of officers who maintained that if the blocks of flats presented opportunities for ganging and undetected vice, they also presented opportunities for fostering and developing creative communal activities in an entirely new way. Each block has its own name, its individual features and ameni-

ties, its own group relationships, and might be thought of as a 'village' existing within a larger community. One block which has accommodation for a boy's club and an antenatal clinic was cited as an example of the sort of organizations that might usefully be developed in other blocks with a view to building up communal sentiments and raising the standards of behaviour and relationships.

Children playing games in the streets are a constant nuisance within this area and 30 per cent. of the men were convinced that the civic authorities ought to give high priority to the provision of playgrounds and spaces within easy reach of the children's homes. They pointed out the almost entire absence of lawful sites where children could play apart from the squares at the centre of the blocks of flats where football and cricket are prohibited by the Housing Authority. They confessed that, as fathers themselves, they felt embarrassed at having to interfere with street games or games on waste land which they were obliged by law to do; and if authorized playgrounds were provided, they believed that it would be easier to eliminate many complaints against children on this score.

RELATIONS WITH SCHOOLS

It is to be expected that police officers will, in addition to their daily contacts with the residents, make contacts with other responsible workers within the area, such as school teachers and probation officers. An attempt was made to ascertain how far in this particular division such contacts have been made and what degree of liaison exists between the police and other educational and social workers particularly concerned with children and young people.

48 per cent. of the men stated that they had no contact with local schools or school teachers apart from school point duty. They have not been asked to visit schools for any purpose whatsoever and the normal course of their own work had not taken them into the schools to interview either children or head teachers. As against this 26 per cent. of the men had made contact with local schools to varying degrees. Some had been welcomed by teachers and allowed to caution children for minor misdemeanours or to cross-question children believed to be implicated in some delinquency. A minority of 8 per cent. reckoned that some local schools objected to such visitation, taking the view that offences committed outside school hours were not the concern of the teachers. 24 per cent. were certain that the schools and school teachers could do a great deal more than they were allowed to do at present in coping with early and minor delinquencies. They thought that children who were rowdy and insolent or who did minor damage in the streets might well be reported by a constable for disciplining. Generally

speaking they believed that corporal punishment would be effective for dealing with such offences where the parents could not be relied upon to take effective measures with their own children. It was agreed that co-operation between the police and the schools was desirable as a matter of official policy at three levels: summary punishment for petty offences, permission to question children in the presence of a head teacher, and explanations in the classroom of the nature and purpose of the law. One important result of such co-operation might be that at an early age children should come to look upon the police as their friends and mentors rather than as traditional enemies.

Some concern was expressed about the alleged laxity of school discipline. 20 per cent. considered that it was far too lenient (comparing it no doubt with their own schooldays) but opposed to this view was a small minority (12 per cent.) who were enthusiastically in favour of modern methods as against the more repressive discipline of the past. Those who criticized present day school discipline appreciated that regulations and the fear of parental objections often deterred teachers from inflicting the punishment they considered necessary.

RELATIONS WITH PROBATION SERVICE

Contact with the probation service was much less frequent than with schools. Only one ordinary constable had any personal, unofficial contact with probation officers, some of whom he knew and who sometimes discussed cases with him. The Juvenile Liaison Officer for the Division had some contact with probation officers but for the rest (96 per cent.) there was no occasion for meeting outside juvenile court. For this reason the opinions of policemen on the merits and demerits of the probation service would appear to be theoretical and largely based on hearsay. Rather surprisingly 36 per cent. of those interviewed were in favour of probation while only 28 per cent. were against it. There was a further indeterminate, marginal group of 12 per cent. who were not keen but had little to say either for or against the service. The men who opposed the service did so for the expected and now conventional reasons on the grounds that it was ' too soft ', ' Children think it a let-off ', ' not enough home visiting ', ' shortage of P.O's.', ' home reports superficial '. Some criticism was expressed of P.O's. in general to the effect that they appeared at times to ' whitewash ' cases, to be on the side of the accused children and to advise parents injudiciously to appeal. The fact must be faced that there is a fairly large number of police officials who consider, rightly or wrongly, that the probation service is working against law and order and thus tends to undermine their own work in the community.

On the other hand, the majority of the officers interviewed expressed approval of probation and showed a genuine understanding of its purpose and principles and of the environmental obstacles that confronted probation officers in such a neighbourhood. Of these, however, 10 per cent. considered that probation should be tried immediately upon guilt being proved for a first offence and not persisted in when a youngster has failed to respond to this type of treatment. They felt that to place a child on probation for a second, third or fourth time was something of a farce.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

(1) The attitude of the police on their beat must have an influence on the numbers of juveniles brought before the court and, in so far as this is true, police methods must be regarded as important factors in our understanding of the problem of delinquency.

(2) Reasons given for enlisting were satisfactory and in a number of cases there appeared to be a real sense of vocation. The social value of the job, resemblance to military service, and the out-of-doors type of work were contributory factors, though the majority stated that the deciding factor in taking up police work was its comparative security.

(3) Under present conditions it was clear that beats are too thinly covered. Great emphasis—particularly with regard to juveniles—was placed on the preventive value of the constable on the beat. Measures, therefore, to increase the establishment would appear to be matters of some urgency.

(4) There is some evidence that minor dissatisfactions with conditions of employment are responsible for wastage and a declining intake into the force. The need for more discretionary power for constables in dealing with children was urged by some of the men.

(5) A large proportion of those interviewed (40 per cent.), revealed an understanding of the social significance of their job which went far beyond a mere maintaining of law and order and the safeguarding of life and property. There were indications that the attitude of present day police officers is tending to approximate to that of other social service workers.

(6) Police officers experience difficulty in being socially accepted, even by their own associates. This cold-shouldering is even more marked when on official duty. Local residents tend to turn to the police when in trouble but are generally slow to reciprocate. On the other hand, advice is sought on matrimonial disputes, discipline of children, etc. which indicates the confidence local people have in the integrity and authority of the police.

(7) The majority of the men interviewed (62 per cent.), showed them very sympathetic with the needs and difficulties of children and young people and revealed an earnest desire to be helpful in any way possible.

(8) The vast majority (80 per cent.), expressed dissatisfaction with juvenile courts and present methods of treating offenders. The informality of the court was thought to be a mistake and there was general agreement that the whole procedure was too lenient.

(9) It would seem to be worth while to give recruits during their training period a thorough knowledge of the rationale of modern treatment of delinquents.

(10) It was almost the unanimous opinion that the source of nearly all juvenile delinquency was to be found in the home situation and in the attitude of parents. There was strong support for the adoption of coercive measures to ensure that parents face their responsibilities, and for the idea that they should be charged with their offspring and, where found negligent, punished.

(11) Opinion was equally divided on the advisability of carrying out slum clearance by rehousing families in large blocks of flats. There was a fair amount of evidence to support the view that tenements are sometimes breeding grounds for juvenile gangs. On the constructive side, it was pointed out that these blocks could be valuable in fostering communal activities and developing a corporate spirit.

(12) It was urged that the local authorities should take immediate steps to provide adequate playing space for local children within easy reach of their own homes.

(13) Police officers have few contacts with the schools beyond supervising school points. It was thought that co-operation should be developed so that head teachers could deal with minor offences at school level.

(14) Contact between police and probation officers outside court is practically non-existent. Criticisms of the probation service revealed some misunderstanding of the nature and theory of probation which might be dealt with during the period of police training.

'The first Intent of Laws
Was to correct the Effect and check the Cause;
And all the Ends of Punishment
Were only future mischiefs to prevent.
But Justice is inverted when
Those Engines of the Law,
Instead of pinching vicious men,
Keep honest ones in awe!
Thy business is, as all men know,
To punish villains, not to make them so!'

From DEFOE'S 'Hymn to the Pillory', (1703).

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

A Note on the Habitual Criminal

Such information as we possess regarding the results of our penal system, relates for the most part to juvenile and adolescent offenders and to those sentenced to imprisonment for the first time. So far as I am aware, there is no comparable information about the habitual criminal. From a comparison of the summaries of Tables VI and VII published annually in the Prison Commissioners' Reports it appears safe to draw the conclusion that habitual criminality has steadily decreased during the past twenty years, but I have been unable to find any information as to the proportion of habituals who eventually cease to recidivate.

The most obvious material for an investigation into the matter appeared to be the subsequent histories of men discharged from Convict Prisons a number of years ago, and by courtesy of the Prison Commissioners and the Criminal Record Office, I was given access to the records of 450 men discharged from Parkhurst and Dartmoor in 1930.

The first problem was to decide what criterion should be adopted as evidence of a final abandonment of a criminal career. An examination of the records showed that it would be very safe to assume that a man had ceased to recidivate if his record showed no offence subsequent to 1947 or for 5 years before his death. It was, however, obvious that to get a coherent picture, a number of these records would have to be rejected. Thus the records of all men with less than three convictions were set aside, since they could hardly be regarded as habituals. So also were records marked ' dead ' unless the date of death were given, and any which seemed to show that the man had emigrated or been extradited. Age was a factor to be considered, since the records showed birth dates as early as 1846. I decided to reject all those of men born before 1885 in order to obtain a reasonably modern and homogeneous sample.

Eventually a group of 255 were left, 138 from Dartmoor and 117 from Parkhurst. As the records of all men born before 1885 had been set aside, the maximum age at the time of investigation was 67. But as will be seen later, only one of those who, for want of a better word, I have called ' successes ', was older than 55 on his last appearance in court or final discharge from prison whichever was the later.

The choice of the 5 year minimum period as a standard of success requires some comment. The records showed that during the active criminal careers the intervals between discharge and rearrest were comparatively short, and that a gap of 5 years was so extremely rare that it could be accepted, unless there was evidence to the contrary, as almost conclusive proof of a final break with crime. In the 255 records there were a few exceptions. In four or five cases there was a gap of ten or twelve years between the penultimate discharge and final conviction, but the final offences were trivial and the sentences nominal. These however have been classed, perhaps too rigorously, as failures if the last offence occurred after 1947. In addition one or two records showed gaps which suggested overseas military service.

It may be argued that freedom from arrest could be due either to death or avoidance of detection. Adjustment for death is a comparatively simple matter, and allowance will be made on the basis of the mortality tables. The effect of non-discovery cannot be calculated, but I am convinced that it is very small. All

but a few of the men had long records, and during their criminal careers showed very little skill in avoiding arrest. It is difficult to believe that a large proportion of them quite suddenly learned how to escape detection over unbroken periods ranging from 5 to 22 years. Once a man appears in 'Records' his chances of getting away with it for any length of time are remote, for C.R.O. is a highly efficient organization and of the greatest assistance to the police in the detection of criminals. A man may commit a series of offences before the police catch up with him, but if he is in records the odds are heavily against a lengthy period of criminal freedom. The latter years of a number of the apparently reformed lags may not be quite so blameless as these records suggest. But I believe they present a pretty accurate picture.

The records themselves are for the most part bare economical documents, designed mainly to be of assistance to the police. From these were extracted the following facts: date of birth, date of first conviction, date of final release (unless the subject was still in prison), and number of offences.

No attempt was made to list the varying types of crime. This has been very adequately investigated by Dr. Morris in 'The Habitual Criminal'. The Parkhurst and Dartmoor records fully bear out his findings that few criminals specialize. With the exception of those who dealt in false pretences, concentration on one type of offence was a rarity worthy of note. There was the confirmed arsonist with 5 out of 6 convictions for that offence. One man had 9 convictions out of 18 for stealing tricycles; bicycles did not appear to interest him. Another had 12 out of 14 convictions for stealing fowls. One unhappy individual in a period of 30 years received seven sentences of penal servitude totalling 27 years for homosexual offences.

In the late 'twenties the populations of Dartmoor and Parkhurst, though composed solely of convicts, were by no means homogeneous. The tougher elements, both physically and criminally, were sent to Dartmoor, while to Parkhurst, milder both as to regime and climate, were sent the elderly and those unable to stand Dartmoor conditions. In addition a number of younger men, who were regarded as less criminally hardened, were also sent to Parkhurst.

Table A gives the number of failures and 'successes' grouped according to date of birth.

TABLE A.

Date of birth	*1885–89*	*1890–94*	*1895–99*	*1900–05*	*Total*
Successes	25	36	46	50	157
Failures	17	24	21	36	98
Total	42	60	67	86	255
Percentage of successes	60	60	69	58	62

The percentage of successes for Dartmoor works out at 60 and for Parkhurst at 63. But these are crude figures and adjustment must be made for probable

deaths. This, however, must be made in relation to the criterion for success, *i.e.* a man whose last five years of life showed a clean record must be counted as a success, even though he may have died in 1936. On this basis the percentage of successes for the Parkhurst group must be reduced by 4·5 and for the Dartmoor group by 6·1 since the latter group was distinctly older at the time of final release.

It must be borne in mind that the slapdash method of investigation here adopted introduces a definite bias. A statistically sound method would be based, not on a year of discharge, but on a given age group. Such an investigation would undoubtedly show a higher proportion of successes. Were the records of the present group re-examined, say ten years hence, a considerable number of the younger men now rated as failures would have to be added to the successes, while few of the successes would have recidivated.

The following table gives the age at final release of the 157 successes.

TABLE B.

Age of final release.

Age . . .	*25–29*	*30–34*	*35–39*	*40–44*	*45–49*	*50–55*	*60*
Dartmoor . .	1	10	18	18	18	18	—
Parkhurst . .	10	16	14	17	8	8	1
	11	26	32	35	26	26	1

This table is interesting in view of the Gluecks' theory of maturation. There is no suggestion that the age of 35 is a criminal climacteric. Nor do the records themselves suggest that from 35 onwards the men deteriorated into petty criminals and gradually burn themselves out. Those of the successes suggest rather that criminal careers suddenly cease from no obvious reason, and that between the ages of 30 and 55 there is not much to choose. Nor do the records of the failures suggest a gradual diminution of criminality after 35. Indeed the number now serving long sentences of imprisonment and preventive detention is depressing.

What is also remarkable about Table B is the sudden cut-off at the age of 55. The highest possible age for success under the criterion adopted is 62, and in the age group 56/62 there were 32 men. From the general results of the investigation it might have been expected that of them some number between 15 and 20 would have ceased to recidivate. Actually only one of the 32 possibles proved a success. The present position of the others is that 11 are in prison, one died in prison, 6 have clear records for the past 4 years and 13 for periods varying from 6 months to 3 years.

As the Prison Commissioners allocated a selected group of the less hardened and younger criminals to Parkhurst it seemed worth while to look specially at their subsequent behaviour. This showed a slight advantage in the percentage of successes as compared with the older Parkhurst men and also as compared with the Dartmoor men of their own age group. But this advantage was so small as to be statistically insignificant. However, an examination of the length of their criminal careers subsequent to release in 1930 shows a difference which is un-

doubtedly significant, for the average was only 6 years. For the older Parkhurst group it was 8 years and for both the older and younger Dartmoor groups it was also 8 years. Thus though the young Parkhurst group showed little better results as regard the percentage of successes, to those who did succeed success came appreciably earlier.

Dr. Morris has drawn attention to the high average age of first conviction both of the 270 Wandsworth prisoners and the Parkhurst preventive detainees whom he studied. The records of the Parkhurst and Dartmoor convicts show a similar characteristic. One explanation is undoubtedly that 50 years ago country police forces were very haphazard in reporting juvenile offences to C.R.O. But it is doubtful whether this fully explains the high percentage of adult first convictions. In Dr. Morris' Wandsworth group 39 per cent. are recorded as having adult first convictions. The figures for the two groups here studied are 42 per cent. for Dartmoor and 34 per cent. for Parkhurst. It seems likely that a considerable proportion of habitual criminality starts at a comparatively late age.

A late first conviction seems to have very little correlation with failure or success. The overall gross figure for success in the Dartmoor group was 60 per cent., and this applied equally to early and late convictions. For Parkhurst prisoners the success rate of those with convictions below the age of 20 was 60 per cent., while those with adult first convictions showed a rate of 72 per cent. But as this group contains only 50 men, the variation cannot be regarded as very significant. Nor was it possible to find any correlation between very early convictions and ultimate failure or success. But here it is impossible to say how far this is due to defective recording of early convictions.

The following table gives the lengths of the criminal careers of the successes.

TABLE C.

Lengths of criminal careers.

Length in years .	*Under 10*	*10–19*	*20–29*	*30–39*	*40 and over*
Dartmoor . .	2	23	37	16	5
Parkhurst . .	11	28	23	10	2
	13	51	60	26	7

In Dartmoor the average length was 24 years and in Parkhurst 20 years. The reckoning is from the first recorded conviction to the final date of discharge or final conviction, whichever is the later. A final conviction may of course follow final release from prison if it involves some sentence other than imprisonment, such as a fine.

The result of the investigation may be summed up by saying that from the date of discharge in 1930 to 1947, which was the year taken as the datum line for judging failure or success, 18 per cent. of our group of 255 ceased to recidivate in any period of 5 years.

To draw deductions from the sparse material here presented is highly dangerous, for little as we know of what causes a man to become a habitual criminal,

we appear to know even less of the factors which cause him to cease. What does appear to be wrong is to abandon hope of the middle-aged criminal. Thus, when giving evidence before the Select Committee on Estimates, a Prison Governor said of his Corrective Trainees ' If they fail now they will probably never make good ', he appears to have been unduly pessimistic. Unless we accept the view of the cynic who said that ' men cease to recidivate in spite of prison, not because of it ', training may be as important to a criminal of 50 as one of 20.

GEORGE BENSON, M.P.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS AND JUVENILE COURTS IN SPAIN
AN OUTLINE

A properly organized system of juvenile courts was first established in Spain in 1918.[1] The system is completely tutelary or protective in the treatment of juvenile delinquency. The juvenile court to whose jurisdiction the child is committed can only employ measures of education and reform however serious the offence and whatever the child's degree of understanding. He is outside the penal law altogether.

Children under the age of 16 are regarded as minors. Until this age, the child is in no case considered legally responsible for his actions. He does not, indeed, become fully of age in the eyes of the penal law until 18 years. Between 16 and 18, he is regarded as being capable of answering for his actions and punishment can be imposed with a prescribed reduction in severity. At the age of 18, however, the delinquent is subject to the full implication of the penal law.

When a person of less than 16 years of age is suspected of a felony or misdemeanour he is committed immediately to the special jurisdiction of the juvenile court. Pending consideration of his case he may be remanded—by order of the court—to the care of his own family or other fit persons or to an auxiliary institution of the court. At this stage, he is not placed with children known to require reformative treatment.

These auxiliary institutions, in which the juvenile delinquent is merely placed in protective custody, apart from other children submitted to a reformative discipline, are also used for a further treatment, whenever the minor, after the court's decision, is considered to require it.

The juvenile courts are organized on the basis of the ' provincias ', *i.e.* the local government districts. In Madrid there are two stipendiary magistrates, who sit separately. In the rest of the Peninsula, where Juvenile Courts are established, the benches are made up of a President, a Vice-president, two regular and two supplementary members. They are assisted by a clerk. It is considered an advantage—though not specified as necessary by any legal rule—that one of the

[1] The rules now in force are contained in the ' Ley y Reglamento ' (Law and Regulation) of the 3rd of February, 1929, with the modifications of the 30th June, 1931. They are set out in condensed form in the ' Texto refundido de la legislacion sobre Tribunales de menores ' (*i.e.* Abbreviated text of legislation concerning Juvenile Courts) of the 11th June, 1948.

members of the court should be a woman. The services of the President, Vice-president and other members of the bench are given voluntarily. Together with the clerk, they are normally graduates in law, possessed of technical knowledge of the protective function of their court.

Several Spanish provinces have not juvenile courts as yet. There the local judge will apply the special law for juvenile delinquents with its own legal procedure. If residential treatment is considered necessary, it will be arranged in an appropriate establishment. The circumstances and characteristics of the delinquent, not the legal implications of the act itself, are the basis for the judgment.

The appointment of stipendiary magistrates in Madrid is an experiment and it is possible that this system may be extended to all the provinces if the results in Madrid are satisfactory.

The Juvenile Court considers and decides upon all acts of commission or ommission by persons under 16 which are classified as felonies or misdemeanour in the penal or special law. The exceptions are the felonies or misdemeanours reserved for military jurisdiction. In addition, it deals with children under 16 guilty of prostitution or licentious living or vagrancy or other such cases which the court believes call for measures of reform. It also has jurisdiction over persons older than 16 guilty of offences against children : for example, (1) over the employers of children for financial gain in theatrical, artistic or literary performances ; (2) parents or guardians neglecting their duties, failing to comply with the requirements regarding primary education ; (3) perverting their children, or introducing them to prostitution, begging or vagrancy.

The court has power, in appropriate cases, to suspend the rights of parents and guardians in regard to education and guardianship. In such cases the court itself will take care of the young person and commit him to a fit person or auxiliary institution.

Persons under 18 years of age, considered to be in moral danger and in need of care and protection, must be referred to the juvenile court jurisdiction, and the same measures apply to them as to the under sixteen years-old.

The Juvenile Courts sit in private, in court rooms which are not used for any other judicial purpose. The proceedings are limited strictly to the facts necessary for deciding what measures shall be adopted. The felonies or misdemeanours must be considered against the child's moral and social conditions without regard to the judicial concept. So the court does not have regard to the guilt of the child, but rather to the fact of delinquency related to the agent. The judges consider mainly the degree of protection or reform required, and, in this case, will provide accordingly.

In the collection of information about the child's life and background, the court is assisted by its own officers and by technical advisers such as teachers, physicians, etc., and by members of the police, as may be necessary.

It will be realized that the protective basis of modern ideas on the treatment of juveniles is well developed in Spanish law. Consequently, the functions of the court are three : first, the correction of children under sixteen years of age and, in some cases, up to eighteen years (Reformative function) ; secondly, the legal protection of these minors (Protective function) ; and thirdly, the punishment of any person, guilty of offences against children under sixteen years (action against adults).

The measures available to the court may be summarized as follows :

1. In respect of the reformative function :
   (*a*) Admonition or short internment in an auxiliary institution of the court.
   (*b*) Placing the child on ' vigilancia ' *i.e.* supervised freedom, not removing the child from his usual surroundings, but keeping him under the watchful care of a 'delegado ', being an officer of the court.
   (*c*) Committal to the care of another person, family or protective society.
   (*d*) Committal to one of the official or private establishments for observation, education or reform.
   (*e*) Placing in an establishment for maladjusted children.

In *all* the above cases except (*a*), the court must appoint a ' delegado ' or selected person to watch over the child and the family, society or establishment to whose custody the child has been committed. It should also be observed that committal to a corrective establishment is permitted only when the other measures (including committal to establishments for observation and education) are considered ineffective.

2. In respect of protective functions :
   (*a*) Advice of parents, and guardianship measures.
   (*b*) Suspension of the rights of parents over the guardianship and education of their children.
   (*c*) Committal to a fit person or residential institution.

In these cases too a ' delegado ' must be appointed.

3. In the exercise of jurisdiction over persons aged over 16 :

Application of the penalty laid down in the penal code or special law.

The juvenile court has at its disposal suitable residential establishments for the exercise of its protective and reformative functions : some of them aim at a mere custody and general educational provision ; the others are equipped for the technical work of observation and reform, whether educational or corrective, or appropriate to the special treatment of maladjusted children. The court has also an observation centre with a psychological and psychiatric ' laboratory '.

The decisions made by the said court in the exercise of its reformative or protective functions are subject to review ; they remain in force as long as they can be of advantage to the child's welfare, in the light of his character and his family circumstances. The psychologists of the reformative establishments, and of observation centres as well, will advise whether it is advantageous to curtail the treatment which was decided, or alternatively to prolong it. The court acts in accordance with that advice.

Protective and reformative measures do not apply in any circumstances to persons over the age of 21.

For dealing with appeals, which may be made within three days of the court decision, there is a ' Comision del Consejo Superior de Proteccion de Menores ' (Committee of the Superior Council for the Protection of Juveniles).

In concluding this outline of the Spanish system on the treatment of juvenile delinquency, it is of interest to add that, closely allied to it, there is another kind of official institution which is devoted to the protection and education of ' abandoned ' children who are not delinquent. These are the ' Juntas Provinciales de Proteccion de Menores ' (Provincial Councils for the Protection of Minors). Their primary and specific function is to shelter and educate abandoned, ill-

treated vagrant children and to settle them in suitable establishments. These councils were set up in Spain by the ' Ley de proteccion a la infancia ' (Protective infancy Law), of August, 18th of 1904, and by its Regulating Order of January, 24th of 1908. These rules, with some secondary amendments, are still in force.

Therefore—in an official field—both institutions, the Provincial Council and the Juvenile Court, are complementary in providing for the care of unprotected and delinquent children respectively.

In the voluntary sphere, there are also other institutions—especially religious —which deal with the protection and education of helpless children. Both official and voluntary institutions have developed specialization in various forms of care according to their means and the local circumstances.

CARMEN GOICOECHEA ROMANO,
Departmental Chief in the Ministry of Labour, Madrid.

CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN TURKEY

The first number of a new Turkish legal periodical, ' *Annales de la Faculté de Droit d'Istanbul* ' (No. 1, 1951, Imprimerie Fakülteler Matbaasi, Galata-Istanbul) contains two contributions of considerable interest to criminologists : a Report, in English on ' The Prevention and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in Turkey ' by a Turkish Working Group headed by Professor Tahir Taner, Director of the Turkish Institute of Criminology, and a paper, in French, on ' Les Facteurs sociaux de la Criminalité en Turquie ', by Professor Nurullah Kunter. There is some slight overlapping between these two contributions as the second deals not only with adults but also with juveniles and as many of the main problems are common to both. Much valuable information is given in both reports, mainly of a statistical and sociological character to the exclusion of constitutional and psychological aspects. Housing, neighbourhood, the contrast between town and country districts, migration, vagrancy, education, employment are among the subjects discussed. Of special interest are the sections on Prevention and Treatment and on certain criminological problems which affect Turkey more deeply than many other countries : the great preponderance of homicide and similar crimes of violence and sex offences even among juveniles (a special analysis made in 1946 of 974 young offenders showed that in urban areas 89 and in villages 508 were guilty of offences of violence and 48 and 172 respectively of sexual offences) ; the part played by blood vengeance and similar ancient customs and the efforts of recent legislation to suppress them ; the frequency of illiteracy and the system of ' besleme ' children. With regard to treatment, there still exists a considerable gap between the state of the law and its actual application. There is only one correctional institution for delinquent boys between 11 and 15 ; those between 15 and 18 at the time of committal have to go to one of the two special prisons, and as accommodation there is inadequate they are sent to ordinary prisons on reaching the age of 18. While the present Penal Code provides no lower age limit of criminal responsibility, a draft Code of 1941 proposed to fix it at the age of 13, but no action has so far been taken.

An intense awareness of the practical need for penal reform can be found throughout in these two Reports, and Professor Kunter's paper adds to this a well-informed section on the methodology of criminological research, a combination which augurs well for the future work of the Turkish Institute of Criminology.

H. M.

Second Refresher Course for Heads of Approved Schools

The second ten-day refresher course for Heads of Approved Schools run by the Social Science Department of the London School of Economics and sponsored by the Central Training Council in Child Care, Home Office, was held at the London School of Economics from September 15th to 26th, 1952.

The tutors were Dr. Hermann Mannheim, Dr. John Spencer and Miss Eileen Younghusband of the London School of Economics and Miss E. Hall and Mr. H. Jones of the Home Office Children's Department Inspectorate.

The theme of the course was Character Training. During the first week the members listened to lectures and took part in small discussion groups on the effects of changes in family life upon character, the nature and growth of character, family relationships and the growth of character, physical health and handicaps and their effect upon character, neighbourhood and group influences, the assessment of individual differences, the effect of privileges and punishments on the growth of character, outstanding character difficulties in Approved Schools and religion in the Approved School Community. In the second week of the course attention shifted from the boys and girls in the schools to the staff themselves and to co-operation with related services. There was a very stimulating session in which Children's Officers and Probation Officers joined the course to pool experiences with the Heads of Approved Schools and to discuss ways in which they could all work more closely together before, during and after the time the boy or girl actually spends in the school. The other lectures in this part of the course were on leadership in the Approved School and the in-service training of the Staff.

The emphasis all through the course was upon the very highly skilled and responsible job entrusted to Approved Schools and upon the light which science casts both upon the causation and treatment of Juvenile Delinquency. Dr. Mannheim in a stimulating lecture outlined current trends in research and showed how Approved School staffs themselves might add to our knowledge in this difficult field. Other lecturers included Dr. Denis Carroll, Mr. Duncan Fairn (Prison Commissioner), Professor Richard Titmuss, Miss Scorrer (Chief Inspector, Children's Department) and Dr. Makepeace, Dr. Ross and Dr. Sheridan of the Home Office.

Eileen Younghusband, J.P.

Children and Young Persons (Amendment) Act, 1952

This statute, which came into operation on 1st October, 1952, modified the law in several respects, and brief notes on the changes are given below.

Section 1 adds to the categories of juveniles in need of care or protection the ' child or young person who having no parent or guardian or a parent or guardian unfit to exercise care and guardianship or not exercising proper care and guardianship is ill-treated or neglected in a manner likely to cause him unnecessary suffering or injury to health '. Hitherto it has been necessary to prove the commission of an offence of wilful ill-treatment or neglect. It is now sufficient to show only that the child is ill-treated or neglected.

Under the Children Act, 1948, local authorities are required to provide separate accommodation for the temporary reception of children, with facilities for observation. If a court is notified that such accommodation is available for the detention of children under twelve who are remanded in custody, the court has

a discretion, if it is satisfied the child is suitable, to remand to the accommodation (described in the Act as a 'special reception centre'), instead of using a remand home. Although efforts are made in remand homes to keep children whose influence may be bad away from those who might be affected, section 2 makes it possible to keep suitable children under 12 out of remand homes. The courts are also enabled to transfer children under 12 from remand homes to special reception centres and vice versa.

Section 64 of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, enables parents to bring before juvenile courts their children whom they state they are not able to control. Amongst the methods of treatment available to the courts in these cases is the power to make approved school orders but, until section 5(1) became law, the consent of the local authority was necessary before this could be done. The law is now amended in this respect, and the consent of the local authority is no longer necessary.

When making approved school orders the practice has been for courts to name the approved school, or to provide that the approved school will be named subsequently by endorsement. Section 6 provides that where a court has been informed that a classifying school is available, that school shall be named, except in special circumstances. If the court considers, in a particular case, that it is undesirable to send a juvenile to a classifying school, and can find a school the managers of which are willing and able to receive the juvenile, it may specify that school, provided that the special reason for doing this is stated in the approved school order.

L. G. Banwell.
Chief Clerk, Metropolitan Juvenile Courts.

CRITICAL NOTICES

The English Prison and Borstal Systems. By Lionel W. Fox, C.B., M.C. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1952. Pp. xiii + 479. Price 30*s*.)

This book is an outstanding contribution to the literature of penology. It describes and explains the development of prison administration in England and Wales during the last fifty years, and discusses the methods to be pursued in future in the light of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. At the outset Mr. Fox points to the fact that the law in this country is not disposed to arrange itself in consistent, compulsive and logical codes, and neither our prison nor penal system is derived from such a code. This fact has enabled a flexibility and freedom of experiment to be pursued, and the detailed regulation of the prison régime embodied in the earlier Acts to be left to the subordinate legislation of Statutory Rules made by the Secretary of State. The prison system is looked upon as a contemporary phase of a long historical process, a vital organism claiming to be judged not only by what it now is, but what it has been, and what it is becoming. It may be added that the prison system deals with individuals whose present behaviour is to some extent the result of, and linked up with, what they formerly were and what they aim to be. In short, in a dynamic field law, administration, and society deal with variables.

The chapters which trace the development of English prisons are full of historical interest. Mr. Fox discusses the successive views that the primary aim of a prison system should be to effect deterrence by means of fear, the later conception that reformation as well as deterrence should be implanted in the personality of the offender by means of strict discipline and its accompaniments, and the still later idea that by training an intellectual, moral and emotional background, favourable to reformation, should be established. These chapters, free from bias, are punctuated by hopes and disappointments, by understandings and misunderstandings, and by successes and failures which demonstrate the fickleness of humanity and the uncertainty of human affairs.

In the section of the book dealing with administration the reader will find himself irresistibly impressed with the over-riding purpose of the Home Office, the Prison Commission and the Prison and Borstal staffs to bear in mind the fact that their common effort is to maintain, with the Judiciary, the uneasy balance between the rights and welfare of society, and the equitable and reasonable treatment of the offender. The few remaining prison officials who were concerned in this matter at the beginning of the present century, will remember that this was then a crude and comparatively simple task, and can appreciate the progress since made by prison administrators. It is common knowledge that the general advances in social betterment in almost all directions make this work today more complex, more difficult and more onerous, although more inspiring. For, as the author points out, it is easy to imprison a man, the difficulty is to release him. The true test of a prison system is what happens to the prisoner when he is released and faces the outer world in which he had previously proved himself a failure.

In subsequent chapters the composition, characteristics, size and distribution of the prison population are discussed fully but never tediously, and the principles and applications of classification and training are traced with lucidity, realism and authority. Mr. Fox observes that the attitude of the man in the street towards prison reform is at best apathetic, commonly cynical, and at worst hostile. He emphasizes the fact that whilst the administration must lead it cannot afford to get out of touch with the common sense of the community as a whole. These practical reminders will recall the fact that within the last forty years our country has been fighting in two prolonged and devastating wars, and their consequent material, moral and economic *sequelae* have inevitably delayed administrative progress.

The work of the Chaplain's department is sympathetically introduced and discussed in a chapter which includes religion, prison visitors, education and recreation, social relations and welfare. The reader will gather from certain passages the close affinity in which the Church and psychiatry can advance side by side in certain directions. Many will believe that in this matter the cleric and the medical psychologist may each with profit endeavour to complement rather than copy his colleague. For although their training and approach differ they work upon the same material and have the same purpose.

The Medical Services are discussed in two concise chapters which include the modern progress in the psychological treatment of the offender. The author outlines the recommendations of the Persistent Offenders Committee in 1933 which led, amongst other advances, to a four years research into the psychological treatment of crime. Among other suggestions the official psychiatrists engaged in this

work recommended the establishment, within the prison system, of a special psychiatric institution for research and the treatment of convicted offenders. Mr. Fox not only deals with this matter, but also refers in an Appendix to relevant subjects discussed at the XIIth International Penal and Penitentiary Congress. Owing to material set-backs due to the Second World War this special establishment is not yet built, but its claims to priority are recognized. In the meantime we are assured that to meet the requirements of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, arrangements are being made to set up a psychological staff in the Prison Medical Department. The scheme will necessitate the employment of a chief psychologist, sixteen psychologists, thirteen psychological testers and fourteen psychiatric social workers.

Space prohibits any special reference to the chapters on Aftercare, Results, Miscellaneous Classes of Prisoners, Persistent Offenders and Young Offenders. Like the entire volume they are instructive and important. The book should find a place on the shelves of all those concerned with crime and criminals. It will be found invaluable, and is likely to remain the standard book of reference on this subject for many years.

NORWOOD EAST.

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY. THE CAMBRIDGE-SOMERVILLE YOUTH STUDY. By Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer with a Foreword by Gordon W. Allport. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Published in Great Britain, Canada, and India by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. Pp. xliii + 649. Price $6.00 or 40*s*.).

This is the second piece of large-scale criminological research published in the U.S.A. within the past few years. In the boldness of its design, in its liberal expenditure of money, time, and manpower it is the worthy counterpart of 'Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency'.[1] Moreover, both investigations were carried out in Massachusetts and both are concerned with the causes, the prevention and prediction of juvenile delinquency; both make use of the control group technique, and both throw much light on the various aspects of the problem which they set out to study. Here, however, the list of similarities ends, and the critical reader has to turn to an analysis of a number of fundamental differences in their respective methods of research and in some of their basic assumptions. While the Glueck study was static, *i.e.*, taking and comparing its two groups of boys as they had developed at a certain stage in their careers, the object of the Cambridge-Somerville Study was to observe the effect on its human material of environmental changes produced by the Study itself—it was dynamic, an experiment, it was a piece of 'social engineering'.

The book under review consists of two major parts of which the first, mainly descriptive, is by Mr. Edwin Powers who was connected with the Study from 1937, first as one of the 'counsellors' and from 1941 to 1948 as Director of Research. The second, evaluative, part is the work of an outside expert, Dr. Helen Witmer, Professor of Social Work at the University of California. There is in addition a detailed and searching Foreword by Professor Gordon W. Allport, the distinguished psychologist of Harvard University. The initiator and, until his death in 1939, the guiding spirit of the whole enterprise, however, was Dr.

[1] See Critical Notice, *B.J.D.*, Vol. II., pp. 259 et seq.

Richard Clarke Cabot, Professor of Social Ethics and of Clinical Medicine at Harvard who—another link with the work of the Gluecks—had given strong encouragement to their initial researches and written the Foreword to their '500 Criminal Careers'. The somewhat unusual combination of these two University chairs characterizes the man and his way of thinking. 'He kept always before the profession the need for severe tests by which to judge the value of social service', we are told in the Obituary Note written by three of his Harvard colleagues (Appendix A). He believed in the redeeming value of friendship, of 'moral suasion'. 'A boy, he thought, should be early supplied with an ideal', for 'What is it that keeps any of us straight unless it is the contagion of the highest personalities whom we have known?', and 'fearful lest his preachment seem hollow', he devised and financed in 1935 the experiment described in the present volume. Its fundamental object was, on the practical side, to prevent juvenile delinquency and, on the theoretical side, to discover whether this could be done by providing a group of boys regarded by competent observers as 'pre-delinquent' over a period of ten years with all the aid, material and spiritual, which a resourceful and sympathetic 'counsellor' and friend could give. It may be mentioned in passing that an experimental design of this kind, which means exposing one of two matched groups to a stimulus withheld from the other, is, as Ernest Greenwood has reminded us in his 'Experimental Sociology', nothing new in social science, and it is somewhat surprising that no reference to experimental studies outside the field of delinquency research and to the valuable literature on the subject appears in a volume of the size of the present book. To carry out his plan, Cabot created a charitable corporation, the Ella Lyman Cabot Foundation, which was to take charge of the project. A large staff of directors, counsellors, research workers, and others was appointed, and two groups of boys were selected from two medium-sized Massachusetts towns, Cambridge and Somerville, one as the Treatment Group (T) and the other as a matched Control Group (C). The selection, which was left to a special Selection Committee of three experts, proved to be a lengthy and difficult process: In the first place, as the Study was looking for potential delinquents not yet known as such to the authorities the term 'pre-delinquent' had to be unmistakably defined. Moreover, as the boys were to be referred to the Committee mainly by their school teachers who were unwilling to label them as 'pre-delinquent' a list of less stigmatizing behaviour difficulties had to be substituted for that term. Also, whereas the original programme foresaw only the inclusion of pre-delinquents, it soon became evident that such a restriction would lead to unhappy public relations as the boys would be generally regarded as actual delinquents. It was therefore decided to include a certain proportion of 'normal' boys, *i.e.*, boys unlikely to become delinquents. Of a total of nearly 2,000 cases referred to the Study, 782 were eventually chosen, mostly aged between six and twelve, but with a median age considerably higher than envisaged by Dr. Cabot, of whom 46 per cent. were thought to be pre-delinquent and 43 per cent. 'normal', whereas the remaining 11 per cent. were rated as 'zero'. These 782 cases, *i.e.*, their files, were turned over to two staff psychologists, the 'matchers', for distribution into two equal groups. As in 'Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency', to those interested in methodological matters the chapter on matching is of particular value (pp. 61 *et seq.*). The matching was done partly for individuals and partly for sets of fairly homo-

geneous boys (p. 77). As 650 boys had to be paired to obtain the two groups of 325 each which were regarded as suitable numbers, the reservoir of cases from which potential matches could be drawn was too small for any substantial arsenal of variables to be used, and a combination of subjective and statistical methods was worked out, with particular emphasis on six basic variables and certain typical inter-relationships existing between them. In spite of the undoubted ingenuity of this technique a certain feeling of apprehension cannot be altogether suppressed with regard to the accuracy of the results, especially when we read that for practical reasons actually only a small fraction of the 782 cases could be placed at the disposal of the matchers at any one time. As Mr. Powers rightly says, ' the implications of this limitation cannot be overlooked ' (p. 75). While we are not at this stage concerned with the more fundamental criticisms of the control group method such as are expressed in the second part by Dr. Witmer (see below), it is clear, and was only too well known to those in charge of the research, that even minor inaccuracies in the process of matching could greatly affect the final outcome. The allocation of the boys to the T and C groups was done by flipping coins.

The next step was the assignment of the boys to their counsellors, each of whom was to have approximately 35 cases, consisting of about 50 per cent. pre-delinquents (' minus boys ') and 50 per cent. ' normal ' (' plus boys ') and ' zero ' boys. A considerable amount of information is given about the characteristics of these counsellors, their ages, backgrounds, training, philosophy of social work and working techniques, and length of service for the Study. In nearly every respect, these fifteen men and four women differed greatly from one another, all the more so as closer co-ordination was not always attempted and ' each one was encouraged to use his own approach and his own techniques ' (p. 136), these differences could not but affect the results. One of the greatest problems, however, was common to all these social workers : without any official standing, they were all expected to offer their help to people who had not asked for it and, in the case of the ' plus boys ', did not even seem to need it. Nor were they supposed to terminate their friendly relations with those whose problems had disappeared. Was not all this at variance with the well established principles of social case work ? As one of the counsellors put it, ' case work cannot artificially be imposed on the client like a blanket or a mustard plaster ' (p. 97). However, in actual practice hardly any difficulties seem to have arisen from this ; not only was there at the outset less resistance than expected, but in a special enquiry into the opinions of the boys made at the termination of the project the general tenor of the replies was still favourable to the Study, and the unorthodox origin of the relationship seemed in many cases to be forgotten (p. 97). Nor was this surprising as in addition to their primary object of establishing friendly relations the counsellors had at their disposal a considerable variety of services, ranging from medical assistance and adjustment of family problems to summer camps, foster home placement and tutoring, or in the words of Edwin Powers, ' from removing nits from a boy's head to preparing him for higher education ' (p. 154, see especially Chapters VIII, IX, and XXIII). The counsellors were not supposed, however, to initiate large-scale community projects such as the organization of new clubs or playgrounds (p. 99), nor to give financial aid except in rare cases (p. 100), and a newspaper report that ' the cream of civilization in the most

modern and enlightened forms ' was put at the feet of these boys aroused the understandable annoyance of the staff. A weakness in the technique of the Study, at least in its first years, was inadequate group work and psychiatric service (p. 132).

The severest test encountered in carrying out the project came with the outbreak of the war which struck it during its third working year and took away first several of the counsellors and afterwards most of the older boys. As the result, only one third of the boys kept their original counsellor throughout their period of supervision, whereas approximately the same proportion had to be assigned successively to three or more counsellors (pp. 87 and 140). As a reduction in each counsellor's case load became imperative, in addition to the boys joining the Forces a few hundred other boys were gradually ' retired ' from 1941 onwards, and in 1945 the counselling of the remaining 75 boys was terminated (pp. 136–152). Among those dropped at an early stage were many of the ' normal ' boys who had in any case been included mainly in order to avoid stigmatization of the others.

One of the greatest merits of the experiment was the special attention paid to the need for continuous evaluation of its methods and results. In the Index, the various aspects of evaluation take up more than two columns. While it lasted, ' the objectives of the Study and the specific functions of the agency were constantly re-examined ' by means of staff discussions and seminars (p. 128). Moreover, two special surveys were carried out, in 1941 and again in 1943, to make preliminary comparisons of the T and C groups and to discover whatever trend might be developing (Chapter XIX). Already then, the inevitable scarcity of the information available for the C boys proved a handicap. In the first survey, 14 tests were administered in addition to a series of interviews. Although no statistically significant differences emerged between the two groups, the result as a whole was slightly in favour of the T boys. In the second survey, when different tests were applied, a somewhat more distinct trend in the same direction became noticeable. After the termination of the Study, as already mentioned, a sample of 118 T boys were interviewed by six interviewers previously unconnected with the Study in order to obtain the boys' own judgments of it (Chapter XIII). Finally, and most important of all, there is Dr. Witmer's independent evaluation. Before dealing with her contribution, however, an aspect of the book has to be mentioned which, though dealing only with an offshoot of the Study, is of considerable interest to criminologists : in Chapter XVIII, ' Can Delinquency be predicted ? ', some of the case material, a hundred T and a hundred C cases, is used to check, in the light of subsequent developments, the accuracy of the predictions made nine or ten years before by the ' predictors '. 69 per cent. of these 200 boys had originally been classified as probable future delinquents, 25 per cent. as likely non-delinquents, and 6 per cent. as doubtful. These predictions had been made on the strength of information rather inadequate with regard to heredity and early childhood and without a personal interview of the boy. Moreover, as it was not known at the time which of the boys would be placed in the T group, the predictions had to be made on the assumption that they would receive no such special assistance as that given to the T group later on by the Study. A comparison of the original predictions and the final judgments showed that in both groups most of the boys who actually became delinquents had been correctly predicted, but that many others who had also been predicted delinquents had not become so.

In other words, delinquency had been strongly over-predicted. What was more surprising was that the prediction for the C group was not significantly more accurate than for the T group where changes for the better might have been expected in view of the work of the counsellors. Similar results were obtained by using the predictions made by the boys' teachers ; they, too, had largely been successful in predicting serious delinquency, but had otherwise been far too pessimistic.

Dr. Witmer, at the head of a research team engaged after the termination of the field work, has played her part as the independent arbiter supremely well. Her ten chapters, in which she leaves no possible technique untried in a critical evaluation of the significance of this experiment, will rank very high in the literature of the social sciences. The first, and all too legitimate, target of her criticisms is Dr. Cabot's basic hypothesis and the resulting design of the Study : did he not start from the false medical analogy that delinquency was like a disease that might be cured by administering one specific drug ? Moreover, could this drug, in the hands of so many individuals, doing more or less what each of them thought best, be regarded as having ' the unitary character of a specific medical remedy ' ? Was it not equally mistaken to select as the object of the Study a long-term philanthropic goal such as the prevention of delinquency, instead of the short-term aim, with which social workers have to be content, of helping their clients through their current social and emotional difficulties ? Again, was the control technique, though in many ways indispensable, really adequate as the only method of evaluating clinical situations and changes in the behaviour of individuals ? The clinical worker cannot be satisfied with statistical averages, and the over-all figures produced by the control group method had therefore to be supplemented by more detailed and searching case-by-case judgments of success and failure, compared with the boys' own opinions and other subjective assessments.

This methodological introduction is followed by a detailed analysis and classification of the individual cases according to type and degree of maladjustment, by an assessment of the personalities and work of the counsellors, and by a comparison of the adjustment made by the two groups. Naturally, to trace the C boys and to obtain information about them had become more difficult than before. Whereas Dr. Witmer's study was based on 254 of the 325 T boys (the others had to be discarded as ' retired ' at too early a stage), only 148 C boys were available for evaluation, and the question arose whether they and their ' twins ' among the T boys could be regarded as a representative sample of the total (p. 404). Moreover, the follow-up enquiries had, for understandable reasons, largely to be limited to interviews with the boys themselves and their families. The enquiries were made by two of the counsellors, but the adjustment ratings were reserved for Dr. Witmer alone, an arrangement which in her view neutralized the effect of possible bias in favour of the T boys (p. 406). The definition of ' adjustment ' caused the well-known difficulties common to all follow-up studies. In Professor Allport's Foreword and in the Obituary Note, some illuminating reflections are made on this problem : an idealist like Dr. Cabot could not be content with such pedestrian and largely negative aims as ' delinquency-prevention ' or ' adjustment ' —' for him the test of every course of action was its capacity to add to human stature. Will it make for growth ? ' (p. 587). However, as Allport admits,

spiritual growth can hardly be adequately defined and accurately measured, and no more satisfactory criterion has so far been found than Dr. Witmer's concept of ' social adjustment ', the ' sociological counterpart to character ', (p. 385) and her assessment of the value which the Study services had to individual boys in removing handicaps to such adjustment. All these limitations have to be borne in mind when considering the significance of Dr. Witmer's final evaluation : although in about 40 per cent. of the cases marked improvements had taken place over the original situation, no significant differences could be established in this respect between the two groups (pp. 414 *et seq.*). Does this mean that in its practical and its theoretical objects the Study has to be regarded as a failure ? Dr. Witmer shows that this is not so. In a case-by-case analysis, less dependent on comparisons with the control group, she demonstrates that, and how, a good many T boys had actually benefited from the work of the counsellors. Clearly, this was a different criterion from ' adjustment ' or ' improvement ', as a boy might have improved for reasons unconnected with the Study. The boys' own views, for what they were worth, were again elicited and compared with the investigator's judgment, and a considerable degree of conformity was found. About one fifth of the T boys seemed to have definitely, and another tenth slightly, benefited from the Study (p. 450). An attempt was made to define more precisely the circumstances likely to produce this result or its opposite (Chapters XXVI–XXIX). In some of the cases belonging to the latter category, failure was due to the fact that the counsellor had become so involved in work with other members of the family that he had neglected the boy himself (p. 493). Perhaps the most definite impression which Dr. Witmer received from her analysis was the conviction that Dr. Cabot's hypothesis (that the help of an adult friend was all that was needed in preventive work) had, with a few exceptions, been disproved in cases of seriously maladjusted, delinquent or neurotic boys (pp. 506, 550, 553, 563, 573). The question poses itself whether this might not have been anticipated from the beginning so that such cases could have been excluded or be given very special attention. However, Dr. Witmer suggests that it was a ' very worth while expenditure of funds to have demonstrated this not universally recognized truth '. One of the most important lessons she draws from this truth is the risk of encouraging too close a relationship between boys of this type and psychiatrically untrained workers (pp. 514, 518, 554), and she frankly admits the possibility that a few of these boys may have been harmed through their contacts with the Study. Although her conclusion that failures were due to the personality of the boys and to the kind of work done with them (p. 565) and that more attention should in future be paid to closer co-ordination between type of boy and type of service (p. 555) is not particularly startling, her very able and scholarly analysis of the case material which leads to that conclusion represents a most valuable contribution to our knowledge. The various types of boys and of problems have been closely related to the various forms of treatment, and in many cases convincing explanations have been given for their success or failure.

There can be little doubt about our final assessment of the place of the Cambridge-Somerville Study in the history of criminological and sociological research. As an experiment, it has largely failed as it was perhaps bound to fail. In the first place, as Dr. Witmer has rightly indicated, Dr. Cabot, apparently misguided by a mixture of medical analogies and moral convictions, had been rather

unfortunate in the choice of his hypothesis. 'Friendship' is not a drug to be applied for a period fixed in advance, and even if it were one it was, in this case, given in such varying strength over such varying periods by doctors of so diverse qualifications and creeds as to make it appear, in its effect, several hundred different medicines rather than a single one. The very scope, ambitiousness, and inexactitude of the scheme made it impossible adequately to control all the variables which should have been kept under control. Concessions which had to be made to the prejudices and susceptibilities of the public as well as to treatment needs constantly interfered with essential requirements of the research and may, imperceptibly but nevertheless very drastically, have influenced its results (see *e.g.*, pp. 37 fn., 74, 97, 148, 150, 338 fn., and *passim*). In short, the matching of the two groups was far from perfect, the work of the counsellors inadequately co-ordinated, the effect of the ordinary social services on the control group, in spite of a special investigation subsequently made for Dr. Witmer (p. 575), insufficiently known. To make matters worse, war-time conditions made it impossible to maintain the element of stability and continuity which was of the very essence of Dr. Cabot's hypothesis. In the circumstances, no statistical assessment of the outcome of the experiment could be really meaningful. Moreover, one occasionally gets the impression that after Dr. Cabot's death the executors of his scheme may have too conscientiously and rigidly adhered to his original plan. Modifications were, apparently, made only where quite unavoidable. Mr. Churchill, in 1943, wrote of 'what happens when battles are governed by agreements made in all good faith months before and persisted in without regard for the ever-changing fortunes of war'. True as it is that scientific experiments cannot be conducted like battles, there is nevertheless something of a battle in every piece of research.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is not necessarily that experiments in the social sciences will always or, as Sorokin has suggested, in 99·9999 out of 100 cases be unsuccessful and inconclusive, but merely that they will have to be more modest and in keeping with the experiences of experimental social science rather than those of medicine. This in itself is already a useful lesson. Regardless of its value as an experiment and a piece of control group research, however, the Cambridge-Somerville Study has justified itself through the light it has shed on the requirements of successful rehabilitative work with difficult delinquents and on the possibilities of predicting future delinquency. It should be judged by what it has achieved rather than by what it has failed to achieve.

HERMANN MANNHEIM.

REVIEWS

THE BRITISH PENAL SYSTEM, 1773–1950. By R. S. E. Hinde. (Duckworth & Co. Pp. 255. 10*s*. 6*d*.)

The object of this book, by a former Prison Chaplain, is to provide the historical background within which contemporary methods of treating crime should be studied; the needs of students have been kept prominently in mind in documenting this work, and in the preparation of the brief bibliography it includes. In general, an attempt has been made to show how the modern system of penal administration has developed from the disorder characteristic of the eighteenth

century. A useful account of the work of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry is given in the first part of the book and extensive extracts are given from nineteenth century documents which are not otherwise easily available to the general student.

It is a pity, however, that the author has allowed the wood to be obscured by the trees. The general lines along which policy has developed are not sufficiently discussed, particularly so far as the events of the last fifty years are concerned. Up to the investigations of the Gladstone Committee the story is fairly clear, but after then the directions in which advance has taken place are left in a needlessly obscure state. This is perhaps due to the acceptance of rather pessimistic conclusions to which the description of contemporary conditions leads. The 'apathy' of prisoners, their 'irresponsibility', and the 'amoral' tendencies of the younger of them, are spoken of, but the solution is thought to lie in the 'homes and families of England' rather than in the prisons. One can easily sympathize with this view, however, without admitting that anything like the whole truth is to be found in it. The gloomy note on which the book ends is, for instance, unrelieved by any attempt to describe psychological methods of treating the offender, which the author has thought 'too technical' for discussion by him. In his opinion the duty to observe the mental condition of the prisoner, which formerly rested with the Chaplain, is 'rightly now in the province of the doctor and psychiatrist', It seems unlikely, however, that Mr. Hinde and other Chaplains, who are responsible for the spiritual welfare of prisoners, will be able to face the future with any degree of confidence until he has been able to find more satisfactory methods of collaboration with professional colleagues who deal with the mental and physical health of those committed to his charge. The Prison Chaplain has contributed an immense amount to penal reform in the past, and it is greatly to be hoped that he will not fall out of the running in the future.

T. S. Simey.

The Earliest Stages of Delinquency. By H. Edelston. (London: E. & S. Livingstone, Ltd. 1952. Pp. 200. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.)

The author's prime purpose, in which he succeeds very well, is to give a clinical account of the different kinds of delinquent children encountered in child guidance practice. The clinical cases—boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 17 years, with a few in their twenties—are described under three practical headings, those whose adjustment may be effected through attendance at the clinic, situational problems calling for simple placement, and severe characterological disorders. The case reports are brief, readable and to the point; they succeed in depicting various clinical types perhaps more surely than fuller case records. In view of the author's fifteen years experience of child guidance work, it is a little disappointing, to find so few records of subsequent progress of the cases.

Because his approach is an eclectic one, some authorities will be bound to disagree with parts of the work; for the same reason the book will appeal to and be understood by a wide range of readers. The author remains in close contact with the realities of the delinquent problem, and technicalities are reduced to a minimum.

The first part of the book outlines the field of enquiry making sufficient use of established authorities to whet the student's appetite for the literature; the psychiatrist's 'clinical-therapeutic approach to his patient' is gently introduced.

With the feet firmly on the ground, the author describes which delinquents can and cannot be tackled in the child guidance clinic, illustrating with examples the diagnostic methods employed. He does not neglect the simple treatment measures, nor does he underestimate the training and knowledge of children and their parents which the effective application of even these may require. He fully acknowledges the part which psycho-analytical theory and practice plays in the clinic yet remains admirably restrained in his claims.

The latter part of the book deals with the findings and remedies. He puts forward a simple and effective classification of delinquency. In considering prevention he stresses the need for more residential schools on a voluntary basis and makes a plea for closer association between such schools and the child guidance clinics. On page 186 he writes ' What we do know gives reason to believe that the upper-limit of the age for the detention of juveniles should be considerably extended ; at least till the middle twenties ', it is not quite clear whether this statement in effect recommends the addition of a few years to the upper age limit of the Borstal institutions, whether some different sort of establishment other than Borstal institutions is envisaged, or whether a longer maximum period of detention is to be named in the approved school order.

The book is recommended to non-medical persons working with, or wishing to increase their understanding of, young delinquents (or young delinquents grown up). It will be useful to psychiatrists in training and in practice ; of interest to the latter will be the great importance which the author attaches to constitutional defects and to the persistence of immature attitudes (' emotional infantilism '), his particular views of variations in vulnerability of children to early emotional deprivation, his warning that ' mother-separation ' may become an all-embracing cliché, his use of the ' camp-school ' in conjunction with the clinic.

The author is perhaps too dogmatic in his use of the term ' irremediable ' in a book which may be read by relatively uncritical people, and which does not adduce or quote any proof. In many instances he may be justified, but ' irremediable ' delinquents have a gratifying way of settling down when they are ready to do so. Personality defects may be more irremediable than the delinquency to which, in certain circumstances, they give rise.

PETER SCOTT.

WHO ARE THE GUILTY ? By David Abrahamsen. (New York : Rinehart & Co. Inc. 1952. Pp. xi + 340. Price $5.00.)

Although in his introduction the author maintains that this book is written for students, parents, schoolteachers, lawyers, psychiatrists and educators—in any case an omnibus aim difficult of attainment—it would appear that he had really two main and somewhat conflicting purposes in mind. On the one hand the title of the book and the rather perfervid style in which it is written, seem to indicate that Dr. Abrahamsen originally intended to persuade an intelligent, but unoriented, public of the necessity of applying scientific methods to the study and treatment of crime. On the other hand, the technical scope of his presentation suggests that, from time to time, this more popular aim had to give place to a desire to write a scientific survey. This is particularly clear in those parts of the book where the author applies psycho-analytical concepts to the problem. Here, as might be expected from his diversity of aims, Dr. Abrahamsen falls between two stools,

giving the general reader more undefined conceptions than he can reasonably be expected to digest and the more advanced student or psychiatrist less detail than he has a right to expect.

Despite these drawbacks, Dr. Abrahamsen's comprehensive survey of the field, which incidentally is based on a good deal of first-hand clinical experience, is well worth reading. It is marred a little by his tendency to hail as discoveries observations which are by now familiar, almost too familiar, to most students. This phenomenon is not unknown in our country and is perhaps unavoidable as and when new observers find themselves attracted to a comparatively fallow field of observation.

The most stimulating section of the book is that dealing with the relation of delinquency to psycho-somatic states. Dr. Abrahamsen maintains that psycho-somatic disturbances of a massive type are extremely frequent not only in the delinquent but also in members of his family; and believes that the psycho-somatic states *per se* ' take a middle place between anti-social activities on the one hand, and neurotic and psychotic manifestations on the other '. Although the correlation of psycho-somatic with some anti-social reactions is not entirely original, and although many will regard Dr. Abrahamsen's conclusions as too sweeping, he does well to underline a problem which calls for the most careful research.

On the whole, therefore, and in spite of some flaws, the book can be rated a ' good introduction ' to the subject and recommended to the general reading public (including parents, teachers and lawyers) and to first and second year students of delinquency.

E. G.

THE TREATMENT OF THE YOUNG DELINQUENT. By J. Arthur Hoyles. (London: The Epworth Press. 1952. Pp. xi + 274. Price 18*s.* 6*d.*)

The author of this book, himself a clergyman, has attempted the arduous task of reviewing the problem of anti-social conduct in its historical as well as its scientific aspects ' in the light of Christian principles '. He discusses in sequence the problems of heredity, environment and individual development, punishment, retribution, deterrence, probation, psychological handling, and various forms of institutional and social correction. To each of these sections is added a running commentary on the position of the Christian community regarding such matters.

Although it is encouraging to find a minister of the Gospel sufficiently serious of purpose to examine the voluminous scientific evidence on the subject, the assessment of his labours must depend on whether the book is regarded as a scientific tract for the use of Christians or as a popular treatise for the initiation of those intelligent humanists who are unfamiliar with modern studies of delinquency. Regarded from the former standpoint it deserves considerable praise. With one reservation however. The author has read widely but not always deeply. Particularly in the chapter entitled ' Hidden Motives ' his quotations are not always chosen with great discrimination, and his resumés are liable to give the uninstructed reader a somewhat garbled notion of modern psychology. Also, in the chapters on various forms of disposal, one misses adequate reference to modern methods of treatment such as are practised at the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.).

The humanist, on the other hand, will find Mr. Hoyles' account of the scientific approach of less interest than his outline of the Christian standpoint regarding these many problems. It is greatly to the author's credit that he has not shirked the many difficulties and contradictions with which he was confronted in making this survey; though whether the general reader will be satisfied with his attempts to compose these theological differences, or be persuaded that in the matter of redemption modern Christianity has followed somewhat timidly in the wake of modern science are questions that each reader must settle for himself. In any case one cannot but regret that in his final chapter the author should have chosen the term ' collectivism ' to subsume such various matters as communal responsibility, the economic organization of society and vicarious suffering. The term has been hopelessly tainted by its political associations: and, although Mr. Hoyles' alternative phrase, namely, ' Christian sociology ' may appear both cumbersome and tendentious, it is not only much to be preferred as a sociological counter but better suited to his religious purposes.

E. G.

Pahantapaisuus Yksilön Sopeutumattomuuden Oireena (Delinquency as a Symptom of Later Social Maladjustment). By Erkki Saari. (Jyväskylä. 1951. Pp. 192. Price not stated.)

This monograph, written in Finnish, has an English Summary of 16 pages and a detailed English Index of statistical tables ; moreover, in the context itself the table headings are given in both languages. A fairly full picture of its contents can therefore be obtained by readers unable to read Finnish. The present review is exclusively based on the English parts of the book.

One of the most remarkable facts emerging from the study is that already in 1921 an Observation and Classification Centre was established at the Järvilinna State Reformatory for boys committed to Finnish Reformatories, of which there are at present eight. The author, who is a graduate in Psychology, Sociology and Pedagogics and the Director of Järvilinna, presents here the results of his follow-up study of 465 boys referred to the Centre between 1921 and 1927. The average follow-up period was 15 years and 5 months, and the average age of the sample was 16 years and 10 months on leaving the Reformatory and 34 years 2 months at the end of the follow-up period. The latter included the pre-war economic depression and the even more difficult war years 1940–1946, and 8·1 per cent. of the boys were killed and another 12.1 per cent. had otherwise died by the end of the period. For purposes of the research, the group was divided into recidivists, once-convicted, and non-delinquents (including certain minor offenders). The information contained in the official records was supplemented by personal interviews with each boy, his relatives, neighbours, and local officials. No further information is given in the Summary on the personal qualifications of the interviewers, their technique and how their findings compared with the contents of the official files. The follow-up study showed that for the average period of over 15 years 51.3 per cent. of the ex-Reformatory boys had no further convictions, 17·6 per cent. had become habitual criminals and the rest occasional offenders. About 80 per cent. of them had attained a ' fairly independent economic status '—a result which has to be regarded as highly satisfactory. It is to be regretted that, at least in the Summary, nothing is said about their after-care.

The results of the follow-up research are analysed on the lines of the Glueck studies, and while there is no space here to dwell on the details of Dr. Saari's findings it is worth noting that some of his correlations are not unlike those in 'One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents'. No significant correlations were discovered between any single factor and recidivism, in fact most correlations were below 0.10. There were a few exceptions, however, most of them identical with the corresponding factors in the Glueck study (though not with the ones used by the Gluecks for their prediction table).

This is a very competent piece of research which is much to the credit of the author and of the Finnish Reformatory system.

H. M.

OUT OF STEP. By Joseph Trenaman. (London : Methuen. 1952. Pp. xx + 223. Price 21*s*.)

In 1941 the Army authorities set up an experimental unit to rehabilitate young delinquent soldiers. The success of this unit, known as the Young Soldiers Training Unit (Y.S.T.U.), was so marked that two more of a similar kind were subsequently created. These units were primarily concerned with the reformation of the young soldiers, ages 18–21, and were well staffed and organized with this end in view. Among the keen and devoted staff was the author of this delightful and useful book, appointed as education officer.

Mr. Trenaman has described with great felicity the methods and achievements of these units, and in addition has given a picture, based on personal experience, of the young men whom he helped to train. He has been concerned in the main to tell us more about the offender and his background than the working of the unit. Little, if anything, of the facts which he presents is contradictory to the knowledge which we already possess of the young offender. What is of particular interest is, as it were, the unity and the related character of these young soldiers' lives. The influence of the home, the disturbed and frequently unhappy school days, the numerous and unsatisfactory jobs, the restlessness of their leisure activities, and finally the poor military achievement of this group of young men, all fit into a coherent pattern. On the subject of backwardness, illiteracy and intelligence, the author's remarks are of special significance to the criminologist and also to the educationalist. Not only does he describe 'the practical and psychological consequences of under-education' as outstanding factors in the creation of the men's difficulties, but he quite clearly shows what can be achieved among young men in their late teens and early twenties by way of a varied and imaginative educational programme.

A short review cannot do justice to the fascinating material presented in this book. The study is of equal significance to Army authorities and to everyone concerned with the problem of penology and penal reform. In the first place it indicates the limitations of a military training which is not at the same time based on a real interest in the welfare of the soldier or in the employment of adventurous methods of training. It shows too the role of sympathy and understanding in helping the immature young soldier to settle down in a strange environment. For in spite of the fact that 64 per cent. had volunteered, 42 per cent. of this group had done so to escape from a situation which they could not tolerate at home as civilians.

Secondly we learn something about the magnitude of the delinquent population through this study of the Army delinquent. One in three disclosed civilian offences before enlistment. Yet they ' proved to be no more troublesome to the Army than those who had escaped the notice of the law '. Facts of this kind should prove a powerful antidote to the complacency with which the social services of the Welfare State have sometimes been regarded. No greater challenge to the educational system could be found than that presented by a group of offenders of this kind.

The writer leaves us not only with many unanswered questions but with as many unsolved problems. One of the latter relates to the characteristics of the 45 per cent. classified as doubtful or unsatisfactory, another to the rather dubious diagnosis of psychopathy which he accepts. Of the causes of their subsequent satisfactory service we are still only partially informed. ' The secret ' says Mr. Trenaman, ' if one can call it that, was fellow-feeling and a high staffing ratio.'

JOHN SPENCER

DER KAMPF GEGEN DAS KUNSTFÄLSCHERTUM IN DER DEUTSCHEN UND SCHWEIZERISCHEN STRAFRECHTSPFLEGE. By Thomas Würtenberger. (Wiesbaden : Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH. 1951. Pp. xi + 179. Price DM 14.)

Forgeries of works of art, though not of particularly frequent occurrence, as a rule present the greatest technical difficulties to Police and Courts and give rise to a variety of interesting problems. Professor Würtenberger of the University of Mainz, who has made the subject one of his special fields of research, has here produced what is probably the most comprehensive and best-informed study of this type of crime from every conceivable angle : legal, criminological, technical, psychological, sociological, aesthetic and cultural. His knowledge and understanding of the creative and technical processes involved in genuine artistic work as well as in forgeries is probably unsurpassed among criminologists, and, although in its legal aspects limited to German and Swiss law, his book will be an indispensable guide to all those concerned with the prevention, detection and punishment of this type of forgery. There are a number of excellent illustrations comparing originals with their imitations.

H. M.

NO LANGUAGE BUT A CRY. By H. J. Cross. (London: John Murray. 1951. Pp. 256. Price 9*s.* 6*d.*)

Half a century ago Arthur Morrison described in his great novel ' A Child of the Jago ' a district in the East End of London so filled with vice, crime and degradation that only total destruction could be its lot. The Jago was burnt down and with it, we hoped, the breeding ground of so much human wretchedness. Mr. H. J. Cross in his first novel now paints a Liverpudlian Jago every whit as sordid as its forerunner.

Here, in what is called Dock Town, thieving dock labourers, prostitutes, pawnbrokers, demented newsboys, youth gangs, ruffians and scoundrels of all sorts jostle each other amid the clatter and reek of industrialized poverty. In this romantic gallimaufry the only socially desirable figure is that of the art master of the local school. He sees exceptional promise in young Mickey Rafferty and tries to help him in the teeth of the sullen indifference of parents, the scorn of

fellow-teachers and the influence of the brutal and rat-like gang-leader, Red Louis. At times one feels uneasily that Mr. Cross hurls his darts more vigorously against Louis than against the conditions that have produced both him and Mickey.

The book is too contrived to seem authentic; and the disturbing use of inappropriate slang—dock-workers do not refer to kept women as either drabs or doxies—weakens the illusion of reality still further. This is a pity because the author clearly has had much first-hand contact with the inhabitants of Dock Town and wishes, however sentimentally, for an improvement in their lives.

H. Dembovitz.

Social Psychology. By W. J. H. Sprott. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1952. Pp. xiv + 268. Price 20*s*.)

This is one of the most important books if not indeed the most important on social psychology that has appeared in recent times. For this reason it should be among the treasured possessions of every worker in the field of delinquency. The study of social psychology, which, as Professor Sprott indicates, lies midway between general psychology and pure sociology, is essential to any balanced understanding of the problems of criminal conduct: and there can be few writers better equipped than Professor Sprott to lead the student through the intricacies of modern researches on the subject. Throughout the book there are a number of direct references to various aspects of anti-social behaviour and the last chapter on the applications of social psychology ends with a brief survey of the field of delinquency. But these are of less importance to criminologists than the sections on techniques of investigation and on the relation of culture to the development of personality, both of which should be read and re-read by every student of criminology.

Space does not permit any detailed survey of the most important issue dealt with throughout the book; viz, the relative influence of individual developmental factors and of culture-patterns in shaping the social facets of the individual personality. Although Professor Sprott shows admirable restraint and a laudable objectivity in dealing with the evidence, it may be thought by a minority of readers, to which the present reviewer belongs that he does more than justice to the importance of cultural influences, or perhaps it would be better to say less than justice to the projective mechanisms that shape the culture-pattern. This however detracts nothing from the outstanding value of the book.

E. G.

Personality and Conflict in Jamaica. By Madeline Kerr. (Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool. 1952. Pp. xii + 221. Price 15*s*.)

Psycho-Analysis and Politics: A Contribution to the Psychology of Politics and Morals. By R. E. Money-Kyrle. (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co. 1951. Pp. 183. Price 9*s*.)

No student of delinquency can afford to neglect the study of anthropology. To be sure, few anthropologists condescend to study delinquency even in their own anthropological 'fields'; nevertheless it is impossible to get criminal conduct

in perspective without some understanding of the racial history of morals and of the racial development of social order.

Although differing widely in the standpoints from which the authors approach their subject, these two books have one important aim in common; both seek to study the inter-relations of individual upbringing and social structure and function. Madeline Kerr, adopting the configurationist culture-pattern approach favoured by Benedict, Mead and others, describes the near-emergence of a new Jamaican culture from a welter of conscious cultural conflicts: Money-Kryle, with one eye firmly fixed on Nazi Germany sets out to describe the individual (unconscious) development of moral character and proceeds to apply his assumptions to the mutual influence of the State and the individual and to the analysis of political motivation.

The respective methods applied by the authors are, however, poles apart. The largest part of Kerr's book is devoted to a descriptive approach in the familiar manner of the field anthropologist. This she supplements by the application of a number of projective personality tests, whose results seem to confirm her field observation, *viz.*, that personality development among the coloured Jamaicans is inhibited and confused by the deprivations and conflicts arising from clashing culture-patterns; incidentally a likely enough conclusion. Money-Kyrle, on the other hand, gambles on the application of psycho-analytical principles to the political and historical field. Unfortunately, two of the legs of his theoretical structure are distinctly shaky: for the particular theory of individual (unconscious) moral development he propounds is held only by Kleinian analysts in Great Britain and both his field studies and his theory of ' ascending ' (' beneficent ') and ' descending ' (' vicious ') spirals in humanistic development are manifestly biassed by his experiences with the selection branch of the Allied Control Commission in Germany. It need hardly be said that judged as a scientific contribution this observation of an ex-enemy by the winning side ' in occupation ' was almost as naïve and tendentious as were Gilberts' observations of the Nuremberg ' war-criminals '.

On the whole then, although her observations are far from profound, Madeline Kerr comes off an easy winner in the anthropological stakes. Her descriptions are fresh and well-documented and many of her data will be of direct interest to the student of delinquency. Money-Kyrle's book is deficient in clinical content, tortuous in presentation and tendentious in outlook. Psycho-analysis will certainly play a part in the future of anthropology, but not through the application of metaphysical concepts of value to a metaphysical concept of the State. Descriptive anthropology, on the other hand, must find a more direct approach to unconscious factors than is provided by the projective test.

E. G.

On the Objective Study of Crowd Behaviour. By Lionel S. Penrose. (London : H. K. Lewis & Co. Ltd. 1952. Pp. 74. Price 10*s*.)

It is absolutely essential that all students of delinquency, irrespective of status or experience, should, whether they practice them or not, be familiar with the research methods of social psychology. And although Professor Penrose's brochure is in no sense a systematic approach, being in fact a plea for the use of arithmetical methods in the study of crowd or group psychology, it contains a sufficient number

of controversial ideas to stimulate the most apathetic student. It is of course imperative that we should know more of the relation of group structure to group function : and the author makes a good case for the use of the mathematical approach. What is not so clear is that mathematics can only follow the lines indicated by any given research investigation. If applied in the proper direction they can elicit facts but not explain them. It is, for example, an interesting fact that the results of Professor Penrose's investigations could in most cases have been indicated or surmised before he applied his methods. His conclusions in other words do little more than confirm his premisses which are in any case far from uncontroversial. Nevertheless his attempt to use the ' idea ' or ' reaction pattern ' as a ' unit ' of numerical assessment is a step in the right direction, even if in so doing he has to jettison all that is known of unconscious psychology and the nature or origin of ideas. A stimulating little book which although breaking no new ground in the interpretation of crowd-psychology indicates ways and means of increasing our knowledge of it.

E. G.

HUMAN NATURE. By John C. Raven. (London : H. K. Lewis & Co. Ltd. 1952. Pp. xii + 226. Price 12*s*. 6*d*.)

This little book, embodying the substance of talks and lectures given to nurses, doctors, teachers, parents and business people, is hard to place. The first two parts, on the ' development of behaviour ' and ' variations in experience ' are based mostly on the teachings of academic psychology seasoned with some rather dimly apprehended clinical concepts, and a good deal of what might be termed loose psychiatric opinion. Considered as introductory presentations for social students, they are not very satisfying. On the other hand the third section on ' assessing abilities and interests ' provides a readable and serviceable résumé of these subjects and might well have been published separately as an introductory brochure. A preamble on biological development is too slight to justify its position. The direct references to anti-social conduct are oversimplified and consequently unilluminating.

E. G.

THE ROAD TO LIFE. By A. S. Makarenko. Translated by I. and T. Litvinov. (Moscow : The Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1951. 3 volumes. Price not stated.)

This appears to be the official Soviet translation of Makarenko's famous ' Epic of Education ', part of which has already been published in English under the same title.

It makes fascinating reading but adds little of significance to what readers of this *Journal* will already know about the author's great work for the waifs of the Bolshevik Revolution. It does, however, enable us to enlarge our insight into the character of Makarenko. Him it reveals as a man with deep and warm human sympathies, a bubbling sense of humour, great force of character, but, at the beginning, little conception of how to set about the tremendous task that was so suddenly his.

The task was made more difficult in the early days by a shortage of all the material essentials. But this was offset by an abundance of the intangible

essentials. He had, first, a complete faith in himself, and a determination not to be beaten. This he was aware of and did not attempt to hide The second is discernible on almost every page, but rarely directly ; there is no doubt that he loved his charges, and that he displayed an almost English fear of admitting it. This was probably a more important element in the work than the methods and system through which it was expressed, and certainly more than he realized.

The method grew out of the intense devotion and loyalty of the colonists to Makarenko and, through him, to the community. Out of this devotion grew many excellent things and others which some penologists will view with suspicion. Your reviewer does not altogether agree with the visiting official who said : ' You have a splendid collective, but your methods are awful ' ; but he understands her point of view.

The translation is in excellent colloquial English.

W. D. Wills.

An Orally Presented Group Test of Intelligence For Juniors. By J. Cornwell. (London: Methuen. 1952. Pp. 40. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Cornwell has standardized a new type of group test of intelligence for children between the ages of eight and twelve. This test, unlike other verbal group tests of intelligence, is orally administered and requires only a minimum knowledge of reading and writing. It is arranged in the traditional form of sub-tests of the synonyms, classification and true-false variety of problems. Its very high correlation with the Simplex Junior Test suggests that it has a verbal and scholastic slant. The author advocates the use of this test in schools as a further confirmation of results obtained with the traditional group tests and for purposes of assessing the intelligence of educationally retarded children. It is in this capacity that the test might well find a place in remand homes for instance where it could be administered in the course of lessons. Its adoption will, however, have to await further data concerning the usefulness of this test with retarded children and also concerning the correlation between this test and other non-verbal group tests of intelligence.

H. T. Himmelweit.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett with the co-operation of John C. Spencer, E. Hall Williams and J. P. Martin.)

Benjamin Karpman : ' Considerations Bearing on the Problems of Sexual Offences ', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 1952, **43,** 13–28.

This paper was read at a meeting of the Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders in November, 1951. The author first points to the futility of conventional methods of punishing the sex offender. He then analyses the results of a survey. He shows that the paraphiliac pattern is repetitive and that repeated sentences for the same type of offence achieve nothing except removal from circulation. There is little support for the contention that participation in one kind of perversion is followed by participation in other more dangerous ones. The law

is seriously lacking in clarity and system with respect to the various types of sexual offences, especially those involving children. The term 'homosexual' in any social sense is meaningless, and the whole problem has become hopelessly confused with prejudices.

ERNEST W. BURGESS: 'The Economic Factor in Juvenile Delinquency', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1952, **43**, 29–42.

This article was read before the Illinois Academy of Criminology and the discussion following the paper is also reproduced. Dr. Burgess points out that existing studies have shown that juvenile delinquency is highly correlated with all the indices of low income and with other social problems resulting from poverty. The influence of family, school and church may be counteracted by the fellowship and adventure in crime of the gang, and by the neighbourhood pattern of behaviour. Preventive measures should include improvement of standards of income and the abolition of slum housing and the development of community organization. The discussion included some emphasis on psychological factors in the causation of delinquency as well as the concept of unofficial or undetected delinquency.

DONALD R. CRESSEY: 'Application and Verification of the Differential Association Theory', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1952, **43**, 42–52.

This theory is defined by the author, following Sutherland, as follows: 'a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law'. Although at present only imperfectly formulated, an attempt is made in this article to determine whether or not certain necessary elements in the violation of criminal trust are learned in association with criminal behaviour patterns. About sixty five persons at this Illinois State Penitentiary were interviewed with regard to their offence of criminal trust violation. The author concludes that contacts with criminal behaviour patterns are not necessary to the learning of the technique used in trust violation. Nor is there any practical way of developing a formula to be used in either the determination or the prediction of trust violation in future cases. The differential association theory should be modified in such a way that it is subject to empirical test. The author suggests ways in which these modifications could be carried out.

G. B. TODD: 'An Attempt to Assess the Attitude to Probation Officers of Approved School Boys', *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1952, **46**, 127–128.

This short article by the Educational Psychologist of Kingswood Classifying School describes an investigation into the attitude of boys towards their probation officer. A random selection of ninety four boys was chosen. The object was to obtain a comparison of the choice of Probation Officer with Schoolmaster and Youth Club Leader. Results both of a quantitative and qualitative nature were collected. Certain broad conclusions emerged from the results of the investigation: (1) probation officers are regarded more positively than Youth Club Leaders, and with no greater disfavour than schoolmasters; (2) 79 per cent. of the boys express some attachment to their old probation officer, or would like to be associated with him again; (3) 21 per cent. have a bad relationship with their probation officer;

(4) there is likely to be more confusion about probation in the case of younger, less intelligent, and less mature boys.

C. C. MARTIN : 'Juvenile Liaison Officers. A New Police Approach to the Prevention of Juvenile Crime', *Approved School Gazette,* 1952, **46,** 207–210.

This is a reprint of an account by the Chief Constable of Liverpool of a new scheme for the prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. A specially selected police officer has been allotted to each of the seven police divisions in Liverpool. The writer is enthusiastic about the results of their three years' work. These liaison officers devote their whole time to juvenile crime. Their *modus operandi* includes the following : (1) Liaison with head teachers, parsons, club leaders ; (2) co-operation with probation officers ; (3) maintenance of statistics ; (4) regular contact with delinquents cautioned by the police ; (5) visits to parents ; (6) the arrangement of regular monthly meetings ; (7) introduction of juveniles into youth clubs. Schoolmasters, in particular, welcomed the officers. They made a special study of those places, such as large multiple stores, where juvenile crime is most frequently committed. Their paramount aim is prevention, and they take no part in the normal procedure of the police when delinquents are apprehended. Accurate measurement of their influence is impossible but emphasis is placed on the small amount of recidivism (less than 5 per cent.) and the knowledge which has been gained of the child population in the city.

J. C. S.

'THE XXIST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE I.C.P.C.' *International Criminal Police Review,* (August-September) 1952, **60,** 195–241. (Illustrated.)

An account of the 21st General Assembly of the International Criminal Police Commission, held at Stockholm, June 9–12, 1952, and attended by 107 delegates of 46 nations. Great Britain was represented by Sir Harold Scott, Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, London, and by Mr. R. M. Howe, Assistant Commissioner, C.I.D. The communications included a report on the use of the electro-encephalogram in criminology by Prof. F. Javier Echalecu y Canino (Spain), who stated that, though the electroencephalogram might be of use in experimental investigation, it could not yet be used in criminal investigation ; a report on sexual offences by M. Yümak ; and a report on drug traffic by M. Marabuto.

W. R. B.

JOHN MOSS : 'Child Welfare in Australia', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review,* (August 9 and 16) 1952, **116,** 501–2, 521–3.

This is an interesting account of the legislation and practice relating to child welfare in Australia, with particular reference to the arrangements in New South Wales. The Children's Courts are described at some length.

EDWARD DE GRAZIA : 'Crime without Punishment : A Psychiatric Conundrum', *Columbia Law Review,* (June) 1952, **52,** 746–764.

The writer begins this provocative article by quoting certain challenging statements concerning the basis and value of punishment for crime which have emanated from several distinguished American psychiatrists. He charges the

psychiatrist and the psychiatric-minded criminologist with having already erased ' the heavy line ' between the insane and the normal individual, and with now desiring to go further and expunge that between the criminal and his law-abiding counterpart, by abolishing punishment for crime. He sets out the psychiatric argument for the abolition of punishment with considerable care, noting the criticisms which have been levelled at the various theories relating to criminal punishment, and the universal demand by psychiatrists and criminologists for the replacement of criminal punishment by corrective therapy, based on the view that every criminal is essentially a sick person.

Mr. De Grazia admits that ' the psychiatric argument has the forceful ring of science and the persuasive resonance of humanitarianism ', but considers that for all that, it fails. He believes that the social aspects of punishment ought not to be underrated and that criminal punishment obtains its clearest justification from its deterrent effect upon the potential criminal. He supports this thesis by psychiatric arguments relating to the influence of the superego upon criminal conduct, and asserts that ' if the psychiatrist would maintain that punishment is unnecessary as a deterrent to crime, he must be held to demonstrate the presence in most individuals of a superego strong enough to deny all criminal impulses, irrespective of any threat of punishment. The evidence is contrary to such a contention '. Mr. De Grazia examines other functions of punishment apart from deterrence, namely the satisfaction of the demands of justice and of morality. All this is paying off the psychiatrist in his own coinage, and therefore merits attention.

MANFRED S. GUTTMACHER and HENRY WEIHOFEN : ' The Psychiatrist on the Witness Stand ', *Boston University Law Review*, (June) 1952, **32**, 285–318.

This article by a doctor and a professor of law is an attempt to analyse the role of the expert psychiatric witness in a trial, and some of the problems connected therewith, and to suggest improvements in the procedure for dealing with his evidence. The substance of the article, along with that of Henry Weihofen abstracted previously (this Journal, October 1952) will appear in a book on ' Psychiatry and the Law ' to be published shortly in the United States. It should be quite interesting.

ALBERT KIRALFY : ' The Juvenile Law-Breaker in the U.S.S.R.', *The Modern Law Review*, (October) 1952, **15**, 472–478.

E. H. W.

S. L. KATES and R. W. HARRINGTON : ' Authority Figure Perspective and Aggression in Delinquents ', *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, (June) 1952, **80**, 193–210. (Eleven tables ; summary ; 16 references.)

R. W. B. ELLIS : ' Punishment and the Maladjusted Child ', *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, (September) 1952, **67**, 209–16. (Three references.)

D. A. BLOCH : ' The Delinquent Integration ', *Psychiatry*, (August) 1952, **15**, 297–303.

H. G. Gough and D. R. Peterson : ' The Identification and Measurement of Predispositional Factors in Crime and Delinquency ', *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* (June) 1952, **16,** 207–12. (Four tables ; summary ; 5 references.)

D. J. Levinson : ' Criminality from a Sense of Guilt : a Case Study and Some Research Hypotheses ', *Journal of Personality,* (June) 1952, **20,** 402–29. (Summary ; 9 references.)

The case material presented indicates that a man committed robberies in such a way as to insure capture, incarceration bringing a sense of relief from inner turmoil. In addition to supporting Freud's hypothesis concerning the ætiological rôle of intense Oedipal guilt, the case material provides the basis for further hypotheses, which lend themselves to systematic research.

Echalecu y Canino : ' A Strange Case of Necromania ', *International Criminal Police Review,* English Edition, (June–July) 1952, **7,** No. 59, 182–6. (Figure.)

The case is reported of a man who was arrested for digging up bodies, both male and female, in a cemetery, ' out of pity for the dead ', and in order to caress their legs.

E. J. Linnemann : ' Kriminalitet og lobotomi ', *Nordisk Medicin,* (September 12) 1952, **48,** 1257–62. (English summary ; 19 references.)

W. R. B.

Sylvia N. Rachlin : ' The Prisoner's Child Visits Friendly Town ', *Focus,* (July) 1952, **31,** 97–103.

Concerned with helping the children of delinquent parent(s) to overcome the psychological effects of sudden stigma and social rejection by introducing them as guests to volunteer families in other areas for periods of several months. Gives the child time to adjust itself to loss of parent and find a group in which it can join freely.

Harrison Allen Dobbs : ' Realism and the Juvenile Court ', *Focus,* (July) 1952, **31,** 104–8.

The Juvenile Court is not fulfilling the social mandate with which it started. (Courts can be judged in relation to ' *A Standard Juvenile Court Act* revised edition 1949, National Probation and Parole Association '.) Three important limitations are inadequately qualified judges and probation officers, ' near-sighted economy ', and insufficient assistance from other social services. We need higher professional standards, a critical examination of court practice, and above all public appreciation of the value of the court as a social service.

D. Prager *et al.* : *Psychological Abstracts,* (September) 1952, **26,** 589–91. (22 abstracts.)

LT. BERNARD BERKOVITZ: 'The Juvenile Police Officer', *Focus*, (September) 1952, **31**, 129–34 and 148–9.

New York City Police developed a Juvenile Aid Bureau, staffed by specially trained plain clothes officers who have police powers to investigate and offer advice. Minor offences are referred by patrolmen direct to J.A.B. offices thus avoiding court appearances. Full psychiatric and diagnostic services provided; thirty day period of investigation. Cases only brought to court when delinquent behaviour persists and family refuses offers of help.

HARVEY L. LONG: 'Pre-release Preparation of Parolees', *Focus* (September) 1952, **31**, 135–9.

Short series of lectures and discussions about parole, its opportunities and difficulties, have been run in Illinois over the past two years. Particularly helpful in overcoming initial anxieties and risk of technical breaches of parole; stresses the value of introducing parolee to his future parole officer before release. Good co-operation from employers who lecture.

J. P. M.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

RALPH SESSIONS HODGE, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.M., is Physician in Charge, Neuropsychiatric Department, Musgrove Park Hospital, Taunton; Consultant Psychiatrist to the South-Western Regional Hospital Board; Kingswood Classifying School (Home Office) and (Child Guidance) Somerset County Council; Clinical and Research Psychiatrist, Burden Neurological Institute. He was formerly on the honorary staff of the West End Hospital for Nervous Diseases, London. He was President of the Biological Section of the International Congress on Criminology, Paris, 1950. Publications include papers on 'The Psychopathic Personality.' 'Hormone Treatment of the Sexual Offender,' 'Enuresis' and 'Recent Advances in the E.E.G. Diagnosis of Epilepsy.'

WILLIAM GREY WALTER, M.A., Sc.D., is Director of the Physiological Department of the Burden Neurological Institute. After seven years in the Physiological Laboratory at Cambridge he began to study the electrical activity of the brain in 1935. He is the author of numerous works on this and related subjects, his particular interest being the relation between brain physiology and mentality.

VIVIAN JOAN WALTER, M.S.R., is Senior Recordist at the Burden Neurological Institute. Together with her husband Grey Walter, she has published several papers on the electrophysiology of the brain; her speciality is the study of children.

HILDA WEBER, M.D., D.P.M., is a Psychiatrist at the British Hospital for Functional Nervous Disorders; Medical Psychologist at the Metropolitan Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital; and until recently a Psychiatrist at the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.). She was formerly Clinical Assistant in the Psychiatric Department and Child Guidance Clinic, University College Hospital; Physician at the Tavistock Clinic; and Honorary Psychiatrist at the Child Guidance Clinic, West End Hospital for Nervous Diseases. Author of 'The Psychological Factor in Migraine', *Brit. J. med. Psychol.*, 1932; 'Suicidal Impulse and the Value of Psychological Treatment', *Practitioner*, 1937; 'Treatment of Fear in Recruits', *Med. Press*, 1943.

JOHN B. MAYS, B.A., is Warden of the University Settlement at Liverpool. He is also engaged in teaching at the Liverpool University School of Social Science and in research on juvenile problems in general. He is a graduate in English Literature and Language and was previously a full-time teacher and then youth leader.

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Edited by

M. GINSBERG D. V. GLASS T. H. MARSHALL

VOL. III, No. 4 CONTENTS December 1952

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND ETHICS — Morris Ginsberg
DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME WITHIN THE FAMILY — Michael Young
SOCIAL CONTROL IN CICERO — William Gremley
SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION IN CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITIES — Y. Talmon-Garbier
THE OPEN SOCIETY—A COMMENT — E. H. Gombrich
MARRIED WOMEN IN THE HIGHER GRADES OF THE CIVIL SERVICE AND GOVERNMENT SPONSORED RESEARCH ORGANISATIONS — Margot Jefferys
BOOK REVIEWS

Published Quarterly. Subscription £1 10*s. per annum. Single copies* 10*s. net*

ROUTLEDGE AND KEGAN PAUL

Broadway House · 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E.C.4

The

MODERN LAW REVIEW

VOLUME 15

General Editor : LORD CHORLEY

The "Review" deals with the law as it functions in society and primarily with English law in its relation to contemporary English conditions and problems. For this purpose, it has necessarily to consider the treatment of similar conditions and problems in other countries, and especially those with closely related systems, such as the British Dominions and the U.S.A.

It takes as its field also those branches of scientific study in which law is an important but not the only factor.

"Within a dozen years of its foundation *The Modern Law Review*, which is associated with the Law School of the University of London, has won a title to rank with the best English legal periodicals."—*The Times Literary Supplement.*

Quarterly 7s. 6d. net. Annual subscription 25s. net.

STEVENS & SONS

3 CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, W.C.2. Tel: CHA 5462

THE HOWARD LEAGUE FOR PENAL REFORM

★

In 1866 the Howard Association was formed under the presidency of Lord Brougham, the famous Lord Chancellor ; and in 1921 it was united with the Penal Reform League under the name of the Howard League for Penal Reform.

Its objects are the promotion of constructive methods of treating delinquents and, thereby, the prevention of crime.

The methods by which these aims are achieved are, firstly, by investigation and research, secondly, by creating an informed public opinion with the help of publications, conferences and meetings, and thirdly, by the influence which can be brought to bear either directly on the administration, or indirectly through Parliament.

The minimum membership fee is 10*s*. per year.

ALL BOOKS advertised or mentioned in the *British Journal of Delinquency* may be obtained from the SALES DEPARTMENT of Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, Ltd. We can, in fact, obtain to order any book from any publisher in any part of the world.

The service we offer, not only to individual customers but also to Scientific Institutions and Libraries, is based on a hundred and twenty-five years' practical experience. All too often the supply of technical books and periodicals is made subject to haphazard arrangements, whereas in reality it is a highly skilled job, especially in these days of quotas, controls, and currency restrictions—and the members of our staff are specially trained to carry it out.

If you are in London, visit our showroom in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, where you can inspect our large and selected stock of medical and scientific books from all the leading British and American publishers. If you cannot call, a letter setting out your requirements or inquiries will have the same prompt and careful attention as you would receive in person.

SALES DEPARTMENT: BAILLIERE, TINDALL & COX LTD.

7 *and* 8 *Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London,* W.C.2

TELEPHONE: TEMPLE BAR 3386